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MINISTERUL AFACERILOR INTERNE
DIRECȚIA GENERALĂ A POLIȚIEI

ANUL 194__

DOSARUL

relativ la

Maniu
Iuliu

Observațiuni:

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R E P O R T

presented by Mr. Juliu Maniu
President of the National-Peasant Party

to

Mr. Mark Etheridge

on the present Government, its governing methods, Rumania's internal situation, the fulfilment of the Armistice Convention and the serious Financial and Economical crisis.-

.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.

Găsite la percheziție în prezența mea
[illegible]
15 Sept 1947

I N D E X

P A R T I.

P A R T II.

P A R T III.

Annex:

Political Situation.

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I N D E X
(continued)

P A R T IV.

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PART I.

SYNTHESIS

about Rumania's Internal Situation.-

Article published in the Official Organ of the National Peasant Party "DREPTATEA" Nr. 3011 by Mr. Ion Mihalache Vice President of the National Peasant Party

Tuesday November 30.1937

National Peasant Party's Manifest.

The solution given to the political crisis by extension without any reason, the governing of the Liberal Party, doesn't correspond at all the legitimated hopes of the country.-

The clearly expressed will of the Roumanian people through the communal and district's elections, shows without hesitation that a National Peasant government is expected to come.-

And if the constitutional norms, would have been respected, the country's needs claimed a government of the National Peasant Party, whose program and connection with the popular masses, is the only one capable to meet the actual necessities of the times.-

In the actual international conditions, every state must grant its own definite external position, as well as its solidly consolidated internal order.-

In such moments, any internal mistake, in one of these directions, might have incalculable and desastrous results for our State and Nation.-

The National Peasant Party didn't accept to form the government, in the conditions which were imposed to it, because in its moral and political creed, to govern is not a purpose but a mean.-

We do not want to rule only for the pleasure of governing, we do not wish the power for the love of greatness.-

For us, the power is only an instrument in view of the realization of a program of reforms.-

Neither the promise - however tempting it may seem -nor the hardship of the opposition struggles which we will have to face, no matter how violent it might be, will unpend us to continue the fulfilment of our creed and program.-

Born out of the real necessities of the State's and Roumanian poeple's life, and observing its specifical structure, the program of the National Peasant Party is inspired from the following fundamental aims:

1) The coordination of the interests of all the social

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classes and of all professional workmen and producer's categories, arround the peasants' class, in order to help the progress of the country.-

2) The priority of agriculture in the economical order.
3) The priority of labor in the social order.-
4) The respect of the legitimate necessity of the Roumanian poeple, to give the national ideal a real meaning, not only to the State's organization, but also to the economic, social and cultural organization.-

Concerning the foreign policy, the National Peasant Party, faithful to its allies, considers as an imperative fact, to affirm the intangibility of the frontiers of our national State.-

In our immediate program for government, recently presented to the Sovereign and which has obtained the principial approval of H.M. the King, the National Peasant Party has foreseen the most urgent problems and indicated the solutions that ought to be imposed.-

Consequent to the constant attitude, adopted even from the very beginning, our Party considers possible the realization of a program of activity solely by close collaboration of the political forces - exponents of poeple's will - connected with the Crown, as outlined by our monarchic constitutional regime.-

Considering dangerous the attempts of political adventures and dictatorial regimes, under any form they might be practised, because they are exposing the Crown to the responsabilities of governing and are throwing the country in troubles, we decided to defend the constitutional regime.-

Without turning aside a single moment, from our direction to respect the legality and our creed as well as the monarchic constitutional principles, we have the firm convinction that only by respecting the Crown's prerogatives primarly, and the full nation's rights, which are always the sources of regeneration of all the rights, the normal functioning of the State's life can be granted.-

These our convinctions, will not be shaken, no matter how many injustices might be undertaken against us.-

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We consider it as animperative duty to fight, in order to impend any intervention of irresponsible elements, which would interfere between the nation and the Crown.-

Only the governments resulted from the agreement of people's will and the Crown, which have real and effective responsabilities being able to control and sanction any turning aside from the law, increases the country's and the Crown's prestige.-

For this purpose, we always have sustained firmly that the Monarch should not be involved into the political responsabilities, that the direct or indirect dictatorship, under the form of personal regimes or governments, can never contribute to the free, moral, political and economical development of the State.-

Pursuing the realization of a program of social and national justice, supported by the ideal of strengthening the nation, as well as in the material as in the spiritual form, by developing the feeling of the national dignity and the respect of christian morals, the National Peasant Party remains unshaken on its position.-

Conscious of the sacrifices that are still awaiting the National Peasant Party, but closly united arround the flag, the members of the National Peasant Party, have not hesitated to refuse portofolios and honours , in the moment they were conscious that those did not grant favourable possibilities for a fruitful governing of the country.-

The moral constitutional and programatical position of the Party, was not a single moment abandoned before the powers' temptention.-

Such examples are unknown in the contemporary political history of the country.-

That is why, without considering the Party's divergences, these facts have to be inscribed into the moral patrimony of the Roumanian nation.-

The public opinion of the country, always expecting innovations, cannot remain indifferent.-

It must react against the promescuities and political immoralities, encouraging the dignified and characterful attitudes.-

The refusal of the National Peasant Party to

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accept the power in the conditions as offered to them, had no egoistical Party's arguments, but superior State's interests.-

The Party's gesture, must and cannot remain without having been taken into consideration.-

Whatever is vigour, capable of reaction against the dangers which imply the enthronement of a regime of "at one's ease", ought to arise as a single man, no matter what their political colour is.-

The flag of the National Peasant Party is now the flag of the national dignity against cowardness, the flag of truth against lie, the flag of righteousness against unrighteousness, the flag of responsibility against irresponsibility.-

The Roumanian Nation is deserving to have respected her dignity and will.-

The Roumanian Nation cannot leave without any answer the painful fact that the National Peasant Party was twice rejected from the government, although it had great and capable majorities for work, and was preparing the putting into practice of a program, whose efficacity has been made evident even by the fact that our own solutions and innitiative have been copied and adapted by our adversaries when they were governing.-

More than that, to-day, against the nation's will, who by all its manifestations rejected the actual government, considering it as the expression of an arbitrary will, is still maintained to rule the country, a government whose practical activity could but arise the total discontent of the Nation.-

The Roumanian Nation cannot tolerate and leave unpunished the immoral association which stands at the basis of this government.-

All that is moral, decent and faithful to the monarchical principle, must arise and join the National Peasant Party, in the interest of the Throne and the State, asking respectfully His Majesty the King to consider the Roumanian people's wish based on right and justice, and reject those unsincere and interested advisers.-

(sgnd) Iuliu Maniu

President of the N.P.P.

(sgnd) Ion Mihalache.

PART III.

Annexes to the Political Situation Synthesis.

MANIFEST - PROGRAM.

In these times of hardship and struggle for life, the National Peasant Party makes an appeal to the whole country to come and fight for the consolidation of the victory obtained on the 23rd. of August.-

Since its last elections from 1937, the Party didn't have anymore the possibility to continue to be the herald of the nation's will.-

The dictatureship started in 1938, transformed itself soon into tyranny.- Any free manifestation of thought ceased.- The terror fall upon all those who believed in democracy.-

We have then foreseen with dismay the gap which was opening in front of those who became the blind servants of the regime.-

When the principles of morals which have to lead the life of a State, have no more their value, it is natural that some people could no more understand the real significance of the times.-

The leadership of the State was transformed into a shop where peoples consciences could be bought.-

The treachery had the audacity to appear under the mask of patriotism.- The political dignities and States' wealth were waved before the greedy eyes of those desiring to reach to high positions.-

In 1938 a so called "Front of National Regeneration" organized after the shape of fascist and hitlerist parties, afterwards transformed into the so asserted "Party of the Nation" and organized on the same basis, illustrates this shameful period of corruption and decay.-

Without having any connection with the country, those parties and their governments, did not understand at all the permanent ideals of the Roumanian policy.- That is why, to the internal tyranny followed the fatal confusion and the adventure regarding the foreign policy.-

New Roumania was created by our fight in association with France, England, the United States and Russia.-

What was more natural than that Roumania had to remain faithful to her Great Allies ? In spite of this, the governments of 1938-1940 have cut those ties that have been established for the political benefit of our country in 1916-1918 during the first world war.-

The Arbitration of Viena in 1940, was the result of the rejection of the democratic regime in Roumania.-

The "Legionary" regime and everything that happened after it, had its origine in the "Coup d'Etat" of February 1938, when any freedom was suppressed in this country.-

The war against the Soviet Union, was imposed by the Germans upon a regime that was not backed by the will of the Roumanian poeple,

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but by the guns of a foreign army, which came into our country under the pretence of instructing the Roumanian Army, and so as to go afterwards to Bulgaria and begin the war against Yougoslavia and Greece.-
Several months later, this same army has pushed us into the war against Russia.-
During all this time, the National Peasant Party has persevered to fight sometimes openly sometimes by underground means against those regimes of tyranny.-
The National Peasant Party did not limit its activity to an internal action.-
Through the care of persons sent abroad, the Party informed the public opinion of the United Nations, that the war begun by General Antonescu was imposed ~~to~~ upon Roumania, that the Roumanian poeple did not approve to continue this war on foreign soil.-
The leadership of the National Peasant Party, opposed all these activities through many protests which have been sent to the Government Antonescu.-
~~In~~ At several occasions we have asked General Antonescu to finish this war and pass on to the side of the United Nations, towards whom were directed, not only the sympathies of the Roumanian poeple, but also their aspirations of freedom and democracy.-
Our President's messages of protestation addressed to the regime of the former King, and afterwards to General Antonescu, are the proof of the efforts that have been made by the National Peasant Party.-
At last, even the most skepticals were convinced that the National Peasant Party was right.-
That is why all the country's hopes were set in the policy of the National Peasant Party.-
The rejection of Antonescu's regime and the rejoining of the policy of the United Nations, could not be any more postponed.-
The President of the National Peasant Party showed in this case, an energy, perseverence and an unanimously recognized prestige.
His Majesty the King Michael and the Democratic Parties took on the 23rd. of August 1944, a real historical decision.-
But it depends on us if the days to come will bring a new settlement to the country, as far as order, freedom and calm are concerned, on the basis of our ideas of freedom and democracy, for which we are fighting to-day with the United Nations.-
In our struggle for this new order, the National Peasant Party, tied by its origine to the peasant's structure of the Roumanian people, with whose social and national aspirations it understood to identify itself, continues to remain consequent on the line of its program stated in 1935, which was a completion of the Fusion of 1926 and the one of the Peasant Party of 1923, as well as it remained faithful to its creed for a National Peasant State as a form of transformation given to

the Roumanian State by the victory of the labor against the exploitation classes.- Out of this creed was inspired our whole program.-

This program contains on one side a range of solutions for the ordinary problems of the State under its actual conditions and the Constitutional out-lines that are now in vigour; and on the other side it contains the general lines of reformation of the State into a new form of State according to its social conditions and times, reformation that we shall pursue on legal ways.- It presumes other constitutional out-lines.-

The National Peasant Party, understands to begin the organization of the State by respecting the normal evolution through democracy, and in proportion in which the United Nations will entrust it with their confidence.-

The National Peasant Party, bases its agrarian reform on the individual peasant property, limited in principle on the labor capacity of a family.-

The agrarian property must be submitted to the principles: " The land belongs to the one who cultivates it" and " The " property is a social function."

As for the great industry, the National Peasant Party, precises that it understands to proceed to the gradual nationalization, in proportion of the technical improvment of the new State, so that the production should not be disturbed.-

In the foreign policy, the National Peasant Party practised the most loyal cooperation with its Great Allies, France, England the United States of North America and the League of Nations, which were pursuing the general security.-

The National Peasant Party, during the time it governed the country made a policy of peace and good will with all its neighbours.-

The National Peasant Party, has always looked forward towards sincere and cordial relations between Roumania and her mighty neighbour the Soviet Union, and is congratulating itself that by the steadyness and comprehension of its former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Niculae Titulescu, member of the Party, the cooperation with this country was improving rapidly.-

Times have confirmed this policy of the National Peasant Party which understands to deepen it through a tight and loyal collaboration.-

The National Peasant Party needs not change its aims, in the present serious conditions.- Its doctrine and governing program are not determined by the circumstances.-

The Party makes use of the new circumstances to put into practice its complete social conception.- Consequently the Party will go deeply into the realization of the program out-lined

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above, in order to create the National Peasant State, where a new peasant, healthy, cultured and wealthy will be a diligent co-worker of the manual and intellectual classes, fighting together for the country's sake whenever need will be felt, against any exploiters.-

Until the end of the war: The country must continue to fight in the war with the greatest determination untill the North of Transylvania will be eliberated, and untill our enemy will be totally defeated.-

The fullfilment of the armistice will be accomplished, exactly, scrupulously and justly.- The re-establishment of the confidence in Roumania by the Soviet Union and the United Nations, must be the chief preoccupation of any Roumanian democratic government.-

Any conspiration or nocive action which might be tried against the democratic regime, will be rigorously repressed.-

Severe sanctions will be applied to all those who since the dissolvation of the parliament elected in 1937 to the 23rd of August 1944, have been the main factors who have rejected the democratic regime and have enthroned the dictatorship, contributing thus to the war declaration against the U.R.S.S.-

We will proceed to the total confiscation of the properties of those guilty for this war, helping thus to compensate the war payments.-

A special regime will be introduced for the wealth of those big proffiters of the dictatorship regimes.-

A breeze of new life will blow on the country, under whose free control this purification will be made - sincere and without resentment - but so necessary for the recovery of the State's organism.-

The damages produced by these regimes which did not respect any rights, will be compensated.-

The decrees- law given by these dictatorial governments, contrary to the Constitution in vigour, will be abrogated.-

Urgent measures, necessary to the normal functionning of the State's apparatus as well as for the improvment of the functionnaries, workmen, free professionists and the middle class conditions, will be taken.-

By prompt measures, all agricultural producers will be helped, in order to sow the fields and to improve their products.-

To all war refugees and sinistrors, help will be granted, as urgently as possible.-

The provisionning with food and fuel of the towns, the urge of the production, in order to assure the food of the whole population and that of the armies on the front, are objectives of great importence, that the government in power has to pursue with urgent interest.- But above all, a succesful war can't be realized

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without having order and calm in the country.- That is why, any political controversies and action which weaken the government's authority and could possibly influence the army's moral, must cease.-
After the war, the country will be invited to choose and decide entirely in freedom between the programs and social reforms proposed by the political parties.-

When the war will be over:

I. Rural property.

The transforming of the big agricultural properties into peasant property, will be one of the main preocupation of this sort. In consequence, the State - representative of collective interests - has the right to proceed to expropriation, impropriation, cooperatisation, collective farming, collectivisation etc., in order to increase production at the utmost, and in order to exclude the capitalist exploitation of intermediaries.-
The National Peasant Party considers that in the ~~actual~~ present situation of concentration of the agrarian property, a new expropriation became necessary.-
For this purpose, gradually will be pursued, that the big property shall be changed into peasant property of labor - excepting the model-farms, public or private ones, which will be included into a program and reorganized from the point of view of collective necessity.-
A special law will decide upon the model-farms, public or private ones.-
The peasant property will be completed with district pastures, public woods, public properties and model-farms.-
At the same time, the necessary agricultural inventory, in order to increase the production, will be secured.- The increase of the peasants' power of buying, will also be pursued.-

II. Industry, Trade and Loan.-

Peasant industries, trades, home industries etc., will be especially encouraged, so that the rural over-populated districts might find a profitable work in these industries.-
The whole contribution of all agricultural products, extracted from the soil or mines of the country, the utilization of the peasants' hand of labor, as well as the whole reorganization of the industry which is utilizing these raw materials, request their settlement in the midst of rural centers.-
Gradually and progressively, all big industries will be nationalized, to begin with those which have a monopoly or have as the main customer the State, or those which the collective interest will consider as such in the future.-
The trusts, cartels which pursue the exploitation of the customers will be no ~~more~~ longer permitted.-

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Small free trade will be re-established, interventionism having policist character in production and the circulation of goods will be rejected and better contacts between producers and customers will be undertaken.-

The custom-house fees will be revised.-

For the re-establishment of credit, all necessary measures will be taken.-

The National Bank will be nationalized.-

Regulations for the private banks' functioning will be installed and their activity will be controlled, in order to cease the monopoly of the large banks.-

New monopolies having social character will be created.-(Import and distribution of pharmaceutically products.)

Peasant-credits will be organized by the development of a large net-work of cooperatives and by the facilities granted by the bill-discount.-

The financing of crop will be organised.-

In the economic national policy, international plans of world reconstruction and their practice, will be taken into considera-tion.-

Roumania must join the international economy and collaborate in order to receive its help.-

Our economic relations with Soviet Russia will be intensified with perseverence.-

III. Transports and Electric energy.-

The National Peasant Party, has foreseen in its former program the reconstruction of our railways, roads, traffic by water and air.-

The means of production, transportation and distribution of electric power, intended to deserve the needs of the rural and urban population, will be nationalized.-

On the nationalized basis, the power of natural energy will be increased, so as to produce massive and cheap electric energy, in order to elictrify the rail-ways and to employ it in industry and agriculture.-

IV. Public Finances.-

Fiscal regime will be settled on democratic basis.- The income taxes will be gradually increased.- Small trade, free professions and labor incomes generally must benefit of a favorable fiscal treatment.-

The progressiveness of the inheritance taxes will be modified by increasing them for large properties in order to diminish the social inequality and to procure new means of help for the young poor people who inherit.-

Indirect taxes will be revised, in order to help the customers.-

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Every contributive force will be invited to share in the country's reconstruction.- For this purpose will be affected the product of the extra taxes of benefits obtained during the dictatorships.- The soil also will be taxed plus value.-

V. Country's reconstruction.-

During this war the country has suffered many destructions.- Its reconstruction and efficacious help to the sinistrors for rebuilding their destroyed homes, industries, industrial and commercial funds, is one of the main purposes of the National Peasant Party.-

This reconstruction will be only realized by joint responsability of the whole nation.-

A special care will be granted to the construction of new quarters, with modern popular and economical houses.-

An immediate high and profound cultural movement of the masses must be the first aim of a democratical government.-

The State will mostly support the expenses of education of the children, as well as their physical development, by securing them clothes, books, requisites and gratuitous meals specially to poor ones.-

Public libraries and cultural centers will be organized in every village.-

Greatest attention will be paid to elementary schools which will be reformed, receiving a practical regional character.-

For this purpose the normal teaching will also be develpped in order to prepare the teachers for the new elementary school.-

The technical, professional and commercial teaching, householdkeeping, rural, labor, etc. scholls, will also be developed in the same spirit.-

The thoretical secondary teaching, which is the key of the whole educational system will be strengthened by preparing a selected professorial corp.-

The universities and the schools of superior teaching, will be reorganized in order to correspond entirely to their mission as regards the science, technique, art, and the formation of specialists.-

The re-education of the universitary youth will be made in the generous spirit of the great democratical ideals and the State's interest.-

The revision of the professorial corp, will be undertaken, in order to re-establish moral and scientific authority in the superior teaching.-

We will persue the establishment and strengthening of cultural, scientific and artistical relations with the Soviet Union and the United Nations.-

VII. Sanitary Policy

The National Peasant Party will persue with determination a sanitary policy which will grant the development and preservation of the human capital of our nation, by utilizing the most modern, preventive and curative means.-

The number of hospitals will be increased and the technical sanitary apparatus will be developed and improved.-

Social assistance will be completely reorganized and rationalized, so as to be rapid and efficacious, especially for the war victims.-

The importation of medicine, will be monopolized, in order to keep prices low.-

An energetic campaign against social diseases will be started especially in the villages, where gratuitous medicine will be secured.-

Cities middle-classes and Professions.-

A special preocupation of the National Peasant Party, is to encourage the small urbane and rural industries and all professions in general, as well as small and middle trade, by a direct protection of the State.-

For this purpose, cheap credits will be granted, raw materials will be easily procured. The necessary inventory for the small industries will be facilitated to them by the National Peasant Party.- The cooperativisation of the small industries will be developed.-

Free professions will receive a new organization, based on the principle of professional freedom, by supporting the young elements, beginners, granting them the possibility of the functioning, conformely to the social interest and primarly having in view the interest of the great rural and urbane masses.-

IX. Labor Problems.-

A complete status will be elaborated, in order to satisfy the legitimated claims of the industrial and commercial employes.-

A policy of increasing the wages will be followed, trying to adapt them to the fluctuations of the cost of living.-

None of the workmen's claims are unknown to the National Peasant Party, who considers them with the same interest, as all special problems concerning the peasants.-

We want to have a free workman, as we want to have a free peasant.-

The private employes' as well as the workmen's Trade-Unions must be free.- The collective labor contract will be obligatory.- The social assurances will be reorganized, these will be extented also to the agricultural workmen.-

The National Peasant Party, wants to adapt the English Assurance plan (Beveridge) in the measures of the financial possi-

bilities of the country.- Houses will be build in the destroyed workmen quarters.-

Efficacious protection for the women and the minor children in the factories and and the supporting of the employees' children in technical and superior State schools, will be granted.-

X. Invalids, Widows and War Orphans.-

A status for invalids, widows and war orphans, will foresee the obligation of the State towards them, considering the degree of invalidity, their needs and the cost of living.-

The same principle of nation's solidarity on which is based the country's reconstruction, will form also the basis of this statut.-

XI. Religion.

As all over our troubled past, the religion and christian moral are the basis of our spiritual and State's life.-

The maintenance of the christian church in its traditional purpose, will be one of our preoccupations.-

All religions are free.- Any attempt to this freedom will be repressed.-

XII. Ethnical Minorities.-

The National Peasant Party, maintains towards the ethnical minorities, its well known traditional policy.-

XIII. Administrative Reform.-

In administrative affairs, the National Peasant Party, maintains its decentralization program, after the principles of the administrative law of 1929, adapted to the present circumstances.-

The reform of local finances, so necessary to village administration is in close connection with the administrative decentralization.-

A part of the incomes, obtained by certain taxes, will be affected to local finances.-

A definite statut for public functionaries will grant them the stability, but will also create individual responsability for mistakes occured in their services.-

Wages will be adapted to the cost of living, in order to grant the State's functionaries, a safe and dignified life.-

XIV. Constitutional Reform.

The Roumanian State remains a Constitutional Monarhy:

The new Constitution will set it on the basis out lined above.-

Individual freedom, limited by social interest and private property, understood as a social function, will form the basis of our constitutional settlement.-

All the rights which grant the free development of human personality, will be guaranteed.- Women will have equal political

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rights.- The powers will continue to remain separated in the State.-

The law of ministerial responsabilities, will be modified, on the basis of the new principles, as inscribed in the Constitution, in order to grant an effective responsability.-

The National Peasant Party, in supporting its creed and program, brings not only its origine, but also the part it had assumed from the beginning, as well as a consequence which was verified during 25 years in the country's policy.-

In spite of the country's numerous repeated manifestations of faith, the National Peasant Party could govern only three years and a half, divided in two governings, and was always turned out by the plots of the almighty oligarchy.-

All the rest of, the time, the Party was always grind by long opposition struggles, always hindered by the stealing of the ballot boxes, by violentations or direct "Coup d'Etat", assuring thus, against the will of the country, the succesive dictatorships.-

The General Secretary of the Party, Professor Virgil Madgearu, has been killed by yet not punished gangs, belonging to one of the dictatorships, meanwhile the leaders of the Party were continiously persecuted and threatened.-

Nevertheless the Party continued to pursue the realization of its program and its ideologie: The Roumanian National Peasant State.-

Although the party ruled the country only three years and a half, being continously impended by various unknown sabotages, the Party left unforgetable realizations such as:

The re-establishment of the public freedom, the administrative reform which began to re-instal autonomous life in villages and districts, educational, sanitary, social and labor reforms, monetary stabilization, fiscal reforms, continuing our foreign policy on the lines of our ~~big~~ Great Allies, and particularly creating an athmosphere of democracy and respect of individual's right.-

All the ways opened by the National Peasant Party in the internal and foreign policy, have been confirmed by the experiment of the time, until the ~~actual~~ present moment.-

Consequently the National Peasant Party doesn't present itself before the country neither as an improvisation of the junctures nor as the bearer of some liabilities of the leader-classes in liquidation.-

Verified by the proofs of resistance to which it has been asserved, by the hard fight it has to bear, it comes as the herald

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of an ideologie which announced the times to come.- It brings a well tried experience and steady character, in the moment it requests the confidence of the nation.-
The National Peasant Party, again ready for the fight and sacrifice, addresses again a firm appeal to the country to answer its call, to institute the social justice and the real Roumanian democracy.-

Forward, in order to create a new country and a new State !

President of the National Peasant Party

ss/ Iuliu Maniu.-

Vice Presidents : Ion Mihalache

Dr. N. Lupu

Mihai Popovici

General Secretary : Gh. Pop

THE EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION DURING THE PERIOD 23 August 1944 - 6 March 1945

As already shown, it was Mr Maniu, in the name of the National Peasant Party, who played the leading part in the withdrawal of Roumania from the war against the United Nations and her enrolment in the war against Germany.

But he understood, that on the eve of the realisation of his action, he must gather all political forces of the country around his effort, after having gained from the beginning the support of the National Liberal Party under the leadership of Mr C. Bratianu.

Thus was constituted on the 20th June 1944 the National Democratic Bloc composed of the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party under the leadership of Mr C. Bratianu, the Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party.

The government formed on August 23, 1944, a military government, as required by the circumstances, included as ministers without portfolio all party leaders of the National-Democratic Bloc : Messrs Iuliu Maniu, C. Bratianu, Titel Petrescu and Lucretiu Patrascanu, the latter as the representative of the Roumanian Communist Party and ad interim at the Ministry of Justice.

The relations between them were very friendly. Mr Patrascanu, who had represented the Roumanian Communist Party in all negotiations carried on with Mr Maniu, showed confidence in the latter and gratitude for his principles and the democratic struggle led for more than half a century by the president of the National Peasant Party. Mr Maniu was the indisputable leader of all democratic forces.

But at the end of August, Mr Patrascanu went to Moscow as head of the Roumanian delegation appointed to negotiate the Armistice.

Meanwhile Mrs Ana Pauker returned to Roumania and it was obvious that she enjoyed the full confidence of the Russians after a sojourn of four years in the U.S.S.R.

After Mr Patrascanu's return from Moscow his political conceptions had deeply changed and on his own initiative he had two interviews with some of Mr Maniu's friends who represent the left wing of the National Peasant Party.

To their surprise Mr Patrascanu vigorously began a double action. Mr Maniu highly respected before, was now the target of furious attacks and he,who during twenty five years of political struggle is Greater Roumania had proved to be the most important force of the young Roumanian democracy, was accused by his former admirer Mr Patrascanu of being a reactionary. Mr Patrascanu went even so far as to say that Mr Maniu could play no more part in Roumania's policy.

On the other hand, Mr Patrascanu tried to win the leftist elements of the National Pesent Party in which, of course, he did not succeed.

Shortly after that, the Communist press started an attack against Mr Maniu and the National Peasant Party.

What was the explanation of this fundamental change of attitude ?

Was it purely a coincidence that it occurred immediately after Mrs Ana Pauker's and Mr Patrascanu's return from Moscow ?

In the meantime the activity of the military government, deprived of the support and agreement of the four political factors of the government, was defficient just at the moment when circumstances made it essential that the government should intensely act and with full authority.

All were agreed upon the necessity of a political government, but the difficulties to be overcome in forming such a government very soon appeared.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND ITS COMPOSITION

The Communists and Social-Democrats withdrew from the National Democratic Bloc, formed a new political organisation, the National Democratic Front, with a programme of social claims and called upon all democratic forces to side with them.

The National Democratic Front includes the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Ploughmen's Front, the Radical Peasant Party, the Patriotic Defence, the Patriotic Union and the United Trade Unions.

But what do these groups represent ?

The Ploughmen's Front was, up to August 23,1944, the political organisation of a single district, Hunedoara, with no nucleus in the rest of the country. Mr Hagiu, memeber of the Central Committee of the Roumanian Communist Party was at the same time the secretary general of the Ploughmen's Front. It is no ~~more~~ longer a secret that the Ploughmen's Front is the Communist Party for the peasants, who were forced to sign a request, often by fingerprint, solliciting their inscription in the Ploughmen's Front when they were handed over plots of the confiscated land. Others were inscribed ex officio. Mr Tatarescu proceeded likewise in the past when the Nation's Party was formed, a totalitarian party under the leadership of King Carol II. But the present Ploughmen's Front,as Mr Tatarescu's totalitarian party of the past, knows too well that it cannot rely upon members inscribed by force or ex officio.

The Patriotic Defence is led only by Communists and it was spoken of for the first time only in 1943.

The Patriotic Union is equally controlled by Communists. Messrs Gheorghiu Dej and Constantinescu Iasi, both communist ministers, are members of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Union, and this organisation began to be known only shortly before the 23rd of August 1944.

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The Radical Peasant Party was created by Mr Mihai Ralea after the refusal of the National Peasant Party to accept his re-enlistment. Thus, from the extreme right, Mr Ralea suddenly passed to the extreme left. Shortly after the constitution of the National Democratic Front, Mr Ralea's party with no adepts joined the Ploughmen's Front.

If we also take into account that the leadership of the United Trade Unions were so terrorised that they were forced into the clutches of the Communists, it is obvious that with the exception of the Social Democratic Party, all other political organisations which constitute the National Democratic Front are annexes of the Roumanian Communist Party. They have only recently been created so as to give the impression of an important political force.

The creation of the National Democratic Front forms part of a well organised programme common to all the Communists of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

The National Democratic Front declared that no other than a National Democratic Front government could be formed in Roumania, but on the occasion of the formation of the second Sanatescu government, on November 5, 1944, it was obliged to abandon this principle because of the categoric refusal of the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party.

THE SECOND SANATESCU CABINET

The negotiations for the formation of the new cabinet were long and dramatic. The National Democratic Front wanted to obtain the greater part of the portfolios as well as the key-ministries: Agriculture, National Education, War and the undersecretariat of Police. It was obliged, however, to satisfy himself with the Ministry of National Education through which it endeavoured by any possible means to win the great masses of schollmasters in order to use them to influence the peasantry.

The rate of the forces which composed this government was the following: the National Peasant Party = 5 ministries; the National Liberal Party = 4 ministries, a total of 9 ministries as compared with 6 held by the National Democratic Front and two neutral ministries that of the War and the of the Foreign Affairs, the titulars of which were designated by H.M. the King.

Endless discussions took place as to who should be the Prime Minister. Finally the National Democratic Front proposed General Radescu whom the National Peasant Party accepted immediately.

But General Radescu, who was not yet personally known to all the Communist leaders, proved from the beginning that he was not the man inclined to act as the Communists puppet. As a consequence they withdrew from him their confidence, and it was agreed to keep at the head of the government General Sanatescu, President of the Council of Ministers on August 23rd,1944.

The government was formed on the basis of a minimum programme of governing which provided for the carrying out of the agrarian reform and the disarmement in five days time of the Communist guards which were paramilitary organisations. But at the last moment, the National Democratic Front, i.e. the Communists refused to sign the programme which them themselves had formerly declared to respect, a fact which shows their lack of good faith.

The Commnit guards have never been disarmed, and they constitute a permanent menace to our political life.

With regard to the agrarian reform, the Communists did not pursue the expropriation of large property on the basis of a just compensation, provided for by the National Peasant programme. They pursued solely the confiscation of large land property with the purpose of granting it without payement to the peasants in order to gain them to their cause.

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On the other hand the Communists aimed to communisise the army and the entire administration.

THE WAGE EARNERS' TRADE UNIONS
USED AS AN INTRUMENT BY THE COMMUNISTS

Immediately after August 23rd, 1944, the Communists proceeded to create trade unions for the workers, civil servants and private employees. In the greater part of enterprises the Communists are inexistent and in others they are in a very small minority. But this is of no importance to the Communists. What they want are trade unions as a means for their political struggle. This, however, is not so easy. The workers are more and more hostile towards the Communists, and especially their practices disgust them. In the majority of factories committees of trade unions were elected from which Communists were excluded. The Communists then decided on a bold attack. Several Communists, armed to the teeth, by terror and blows forbid access into the factory to the employees and workers hostile towards the Communists. This they call the chasing of Fascists, Hitlerists and reactionaries. Only the Communist employees are allowed to bear arms, therefore no others can put up any resistance.

Those members of the National Peasant Party and of the National Liberal Party who in view of the 23rd August 1944 received arms to support the army against Antonescu and the Germans gave them up as soon as they had succeeded in their aim. Only the Communists refused to do so and kept them. On the other hand, those persons, who respected and realised what internal order meant at that time, tried to avoid civil war while the country as busily engaged in a war against Germany and Hungary.

The Communists oppose the appointment of committees by secret vote everywhere. The elections are carried out with acclamations, blows to intimidate, revolvers and all kinds of threats. But even so, rarely there can be constituted committees with communist ma-

jority. Using the same means of force as in the elections, the Communists obliged the members who were not communists to associat in a passive manner with their action.

The committees have often to be changed owing to the strong resistance put forward against the Communists.

The Communists adopt the tactics of threatening, used especially against those who for some reason or other have done something that might be brought up against them and cause them annoyances. The threat of losing their jobs and being prevented from finding another as well as that of being confined in a concentration camp are among many other means of both physical and moral terrorisation.

The trade unions exercise their command of things through the factory committees which immediately took over the management of the factories. They have imposed the managing staff which thus are their subordinates. The factory committee controls the production but especially the political opinions of the wage earners . The visa of the factory committee is necessary everywhere.

Towards the end of November 1944 the Communists reckon themselves masters of the trade unions.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS TOWARDS THE END OF NOVEMBER 1944

The Communists know that time works against them. The National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party, strongly upheld by the greater manority of public opinion, oppose the influencing of the Communists.

The Communist tactics is, however, very well traced, according to a carefully studied plan,even down to the least details, and upon experience gained elsewhere. The aim of the Communists is to form a government in which they should have the unchallenged leadership. The second Sanatescu government, the same as the Radescu

government, which was to follow it, were necessary stages towards what was to happen on the 6th of March 1945.

The two governments had to be thrown aside quickly. Sprin was not far off and in March the peasant would have to begin ploughing their land. The confiscation of the estates of the great landowners had to be carried out according to the Communist conception for their own political benefit. This, however, would only be possible with a government that was to be constituted on the 6th of March 1945.

On the other hand, having no public opinion to sustain it, with the resolute opposition both of the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party, having at the head of the State a king who leads his country in accordance with the whishes and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of his people, the army being with him to the last man, the Communist Party knows that it cannot form a Communist government without the help of the U.S.S.R. This can be granted only before Germany's surrender, which is to be expected at any moment.

This stage must be gone over quickly and there are many things needed to prepare the way.

THE COMMUNISATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION

The public authorities of Moldavia and Bucovina were evacuated by Antonescu's orders, before the Russians' arrival. Thus, these provinces, after the occupation by the Russians, were without prefects, mayors, magistrates, police, teachers, and the whole administrative system. In the place of those evacuated, others were installed under the name of the armies of occupation and with full powers.

The act of rendering communist all the rest of the country was immediately put into practice by the Communists, by the installing by force of Communist prefects and mayors in the place of

those elected by the government.

Everywhere the same thing took place. Some tens or even hundreds of well-armed men forced themselves to theprefects and the mayors and, threatened by the revolver, they were obliged to cede their places to the Communists. If there was need the prefectures and townhalls were taken by storm.

The Home Secretary at the time, General Aldea, ordered armed forces to be placed ready to help the prefects and mayors in function. Some incidents occurred and sometimes even blood was shed.

The most characteristic case took place at Constantza; about 500 well-armed Communists broke into the prefecture and installed there as prefect Mr Victor Dusa, notwithstanding the opposition of the army. A downright revolt took place. Immediately, on the 4th November 1945, at 23:00 the new prefect issued his first decree in which he declared that "today" the prefecture and the whole country is in our hands." At the same time, the decree dismisses the rural police, in the place of which it created "The Units of Patriotic Fight" - downright communists. Something still more serious, the new prefect announces the creation for the county of Constantza of a People's Tribunal, for the judging of political adversaries.

In Galatzi and in Tulcea serious incidents take place. In Galatzi the Communists carry off and confine the chief of the police, who dared to oppose by force the installation of a new prefect and mayor.(See the Police Inspector General's list of information No. 7417 of 18th Niv.1944).

It is announced that among the communist workmen in Constantza and Galatzi armed Soviet troopers were discovered (see the note of information N o.441 of October 29th 1944 for Galatzi), but of course the Allied Control Commission (Soviets) deny this. The members of the government, partisans of the National Democratic Front incite the people and even conduct themselves to such anarchic acts.

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In Deva, the birth-place of Mr Petru Groza, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, the bands of anarchists were led by Mr R. Zaroni himself, at the time under-secreatyr of State in the Ministry of Agriculture, the intimate political friend of Mr Petru Groza.

The act of installing prefects and mayors by force spreads all over the country.

At the end of Novemeber 1944, Dr N Penescu of the National Paesant Party, titulary of the Home Office, resolved to stop anarchism spreading throughout the country. He ordered all the prefects to oppose any attempt of such nature.

Incidents took place at Calarasi and Craiova.

It is worthy of note that the army everywhere obeyed the orders of the government. Nowhere did they take side with the anarchists.

The Communist Party then took violent steps to get rid of Dr Penescu, the Minister of Home Affairs. It obliged the workers to parade the streets demonstrating against the minister of Home Affairs. His subordinates, installed by the Communists, demand his arrest. The Communist press first attacks him violently and then Colonel Bucur, the Prefect of Bucharest. The latter is denounced as a war criminal. But even the government of the 6th March could take no measures against him, he being innocent.

A vulgar incident is exploited by the Communists and the workmen's press,conducted by the Communist trade unions, against Mr N. Penescu and the National Peasant Party. In a tavern on the outskirts of Bucharest a tipsy non commissioned officer while firing his weapon killed two youths. The Communists transformed the regrettable incident into a political crime of the legionaries, and reactionaries against themselves. But the victims were not Communists. What were they to do ? The bodies were wrested from their terrorised families and a grand funeral ceremony was organised by the workers

in the Piata Victoriei. This was exactly the same as in the time of the legionaries (the Roumanian Fascists).

The National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party decided to provoke the resignation of the government. In a declaration read in the Council of Ministers dated 29th November 1944, they accuse the National-Democratic Front ministers of not executing certain clauses in the agreement for cooperation and especially that of disarming the Communist guards.

It is not difficult to see why the Communists refused to sign the agreement of co-operation which they had discussed and accepted.

The National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party's declaration has not been allowed to appear in the press, since the committee of the printers' trade union decided that no newspaper should print it. (Romania Libera, 1st December 1944).

The Communists' tactics succeeded. They got rid of two governments in less than ten weeks. The second lasted hardly 27 days.

The Communists' attacks in the press against Mr Maniu become more and more furious. The president of the National Peasant Party who struggled for more than 25 years to eliberate Transylvania from the Hungarian yoke, and who afterwards introduced a true democracy into the Greater Roumania, is now presented as "an enemy of the peole".

THE RADESCU GOVERNMENT

H. M. the King's commission to General Radescu to form a new cabinet is accepted immediately by the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party. But those of the National Democratic Front are furious. They know that General Radescu is all one piece and has one single aim: to maintain order.

"A new provocation", this is how the Communists's official paper "Scanteia" (4th December 1944) meet the new Prime Minister,

whom it accuses of having sabotaged the Armistice in his quality as chief of the Great General Staff of the Army.

Finally the Communists give in. They hope to have established an understanding witht the Prime Minister. But the loyal and honest General Radescu cannot admit that the Communists should hold other intentions than those discussed and agreed upon.

The Government is formed under the same conditions and with the participation of the preceeding cabinet. The only differences is that the Prime Minister takes over the Ministry of Home Affairs to replace Mr Penescu who resigned in order that a neutral person might assume this charge.

The conditions in which the new cabinet was formed constituted a defeat for the Communists and they were obliged to declare that they renounce their anarchical activity. They had also to renounce their demand that General Vasiliu Rascanu, a Communist, be appointed Minister of War. Likewise they got neither the Ministry of Home Affairs, nor the Undersecretariat of Police.

Immediately after taking the oath, the Communists openly assert that the government will not last more than teo weeks and the assertion is meant to intimidate the Prime Minister. The latter, however, firmly supported by his colleagues belonging to the National Peasant and the National Liberal Parties succeeds in keeping up the co-operation for a longer period than expected by the Communists. Nevertheless, the Communists strongly backed by the Soviets, as is be shown further on, methodically pursue their plan. After a short interval the activity for the spreading of anarchy throughout the country is taken up more vigorously. Besides the forcible removal of the prefects and mayors, the communists instigate through the press the peasants, the new prefects and mayors to distribute by force the land of large landowners.

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THE WORKERS IN THE STREET

Everywhere the workers organise themselves to do away with the Communist committees.

At the "Malaxa" factory in Bucharest the workers decide the eviction of the communist committee and the election of a new one by means of secret voting. During the voting, the Communists realise that they will lose the game and so they provoke blood-shed to prevent the elections. But as they are not able to find among the workers of the "Malaxa" factory the necessary partisans, they ask for help from the workers of the Railway and Streetcar Companies. The latter, headed personally by Mr Gheorghiu Dej, Communist Minister for Communication, open fire against the "Malaxa" unarmed workers.

The election by secret vote can no more take place. The leaders of the "Malaxa" workers, several hundreds, who had provoked the election by secret vote are wounded, beaten and maltreated by the Communist workers of the Railway and Streetcar Companies and, after the 6th March, interned at the Caracal camp where some of them are still kept.

The bloody incidents of the "Malaxa" factory constituted a means of intimidation for the workers of other factories, especially as General Radescu, Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs, in order not to waste the small forces he disposed of, did not intervene witht the army to re-establish order.

H enceforth, trade unions will be made use of by the communists on a larger scale than before. Almost every day, the workers are ordered out in the street for demonstration, to demand the removal of General Radescu and a National Democratic Front government with Mr Teohari Georgescu, a Communist, at the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Everybody could realise that only small number of the workers

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were demonstrating from convition, the rest representing an amorphe mass which followed where they were led. Besides the usual means, i.e. blows, ill-treatment, sequestration, epuration, etc. the Communists also make use of milder ones, but equally heavy, lists of persons who do not take part in the ordered demonstrations are drawn up and those marked down are excluded from all provisions supplied by the workers' supply-depots.

THE FEBRUARA CRISIS

After two months and a half of governing - devoid though of all harmony - the third government since August 23rd, 1944, found itself in full crisis, notwithstanding that the National Peasant Party had done everything in its poer to avoid it.

Controlling the Ministry of Agriculture, through the titular of the department, the National Peasant Party appointed a commission for the carrying out of the agrarian reform. But from the beginning the very antithesis of the National Peasant Party and Communist Party's point of views was diplayed. The Communists wished the confiscation of property, whilst the National Peasants favoured the expropriation against compensation.

N evertheless, the Ministry of Home Affairs remained the neuralgic point. Mr Teohari Georgescu, the Communist Undersecretary of State of this department, transgressing the understanding agreed upon when the Government was formed, ordered to the prefects and mayors above the head of the Prime Minister who was at the same time Minister of Home Affairs. The disorder in the country increases, set on foot by Mr Georgescu himself. The Prime Minister was obliged to discharge Mr Teohari Georgescu, but the latter addressed himself, in the official capacity he no more possessed, to all prefects and mayors notifying them not to carry out the Prime Minister's orders.

Spring was approaching and the Communists were firmly decided to distribute to the peasants the confiscated land, free of any

charges whatsoever. Germany's surrender might occur at any moment. The intervention of the U.S.S.R. could not be delayed for fear it might be useless. Things had to be hastened.

The National Democratic Front organised on February 24th, 1945, a demonstration of the workers with the intention of taking by assault all public institutions of the capital, as had been done before with the prefectures and town-halls.

But General Radescu was on the watch and obstinate to maintain social order. He disposed of only 5000 soldiers, spread over the whole town, for the guard of public institutions. He himself confined at the Ministry of Home Affairs with 200 soldiers.

Owing to the firm attitude of General Radescu, the Communist scheme failed, but the anarchic spirit of the Communists provoked incidents which might become pretexts in carrying out the plan and assuming poer. Incendiary speeches were held in public places, the column of demonstrators proceeding menacing towards the Ministry of Home Affairs. From a building in front of the Ministry shots were fired, other shots were heard on the square before the Royal Palace. It was obvious that their aim was provocation. The guard of the Ministry fired a volley in the air. An indescriptible panic was started up. All workers forcibly brought to the demonstration fled, but from the mob shots were fired and four workers were killed.

The coroner at the inquest stated that they were killed by 6,35 revolver bullets and thus it was proved that the army did and could not fire them, but only the Communists' provoking agents. H owever, what did four victims matter, when such an important aim was at stake ?

In the evening General Radescu denounced the Communist plot at the radio. An immense crowd accalaimed the Prime Minister. Meanwhile a car passed in full speed and a drumfire was directed against the demonstrators. It was evident that it was a new pro-

vocation.

On the morrow were to be heard shouts of : "Radescu has ordered to fire at the people. He must be arrested".

Millions of pamphlets and posters on streetcars, monuments and buildings and everywhere denounced to the "people" General Radescu, Iuliu Maniu and C. Bratianu and demanded the forcible bringing into power of the National Democratic Front government, headed by Mr Petre Groza.

The whole country was in revolt against the National Democratic Front, but the presence in the country of certain occupation troops hindered the people's will from prevailing.

The situation was dramatic.

Mr VASINSKI IMPOSED THE GROZA GOVERNMENT

In this atmosphere Mr Andrej Vasinski arrived in Roumania. On the evening of the same day, February 27th, 1945, he presented himself at the Royal Palace and asked H.M. the King to dismiss General Radescu and to bring about a National Democratic Front Government headed by Mr Petru Groza.

H.M. hesitated, but Mr Vasinski's tenacity induced him to inquire several times the next day if his wish had been fulfilled. The third day, Mr Vasinski forced himself in another audience upon H.M. the King, from whom he asked insistently the formation of a Petru Groza Government, telling him that Russia's prestige was at stake in this matter.

Mr Vasinski's insistences were stressed by demonstrations of the Red Army. At nightfall tanks and motorised vehicles in impressing numbers filled the streets of Bucharest. The Royal Palace was the centre of this armed demonstration with the obvious aim to intimidate. Every day the workers were forced out into the

streets to demonstrate and all industrial and commercial activity was paralysed.

The country turned to its beloved young King. H. M. consulted with Mr Maniu and Mr Bratianu and the former recommended the King not to entrust Mr Groza with the formation of the government, but to choose a neutral person. First, Mr Bratianu advised the King to follow Mr Maniu's suggestion, but finally warned the Sovereign to yield.

The King, however, commissioned Mr Groza to form a government of concentration including all democratic parties as well as the National Peasant and the National Liberal Parties.

From that moment on, Mr Groza considered himself Prime Minister. He proposed the National Peasant Party inacceptable conditions of co-operation, i.e. 2-3 ministries without portfolio. as observers. Although the National Peasant Party, at H.M.'s request, had accepted in principle the co-operation, it could not agree to the proposal, since having the majority the Communists would have been the real governors. And in no case coult the party accept Mr Tatarescu's participation in the government.

Though Mr Groza's mandate was limited and though he did not succeed in achieving H.M.'s wish, he refused to resign and considered himself Prime Minister.

During the night of   March 1945 the Red Army disarmed all Roumanian troops which were in the country. They proceeded likewise with the Police. Even sentries had no weapons. The Bucharest Guard Division was sent on the front, the Bucharest military police was disbanded and 60% of the policemen were dismissed. The coup had been prepared in advance and they had waited only for the propitious moment.

By note No.34053 of November 27th, 1944, the War Ministry,

Information Bureau, warned that, according to information collected from the political bureau of the Soviet Commandment of Sibiu, the total disarmament of the entire Roumanian army had been planed.

The General Inspectorat of the Military Police warned equally by note No.48732 of November 28th, 1944, that Mr Moscovici, assistant prefect of the Baia District, had held a speech in the village Ionaseni-Radausei in which he affirmed that in the near future the Communist Party would distribute weapons to all of its members to enable them to disarm the Roumanian troops and to bring into power the Communist Party. He stressed that the Soviet troops would assist the Communist Party in its action.

On March 6th, 1945, the National Democratic Front convoked a new assembly of the workers "for the installation of the National Democratic Front government Petru Groza.

Pressed by the U.S.S.R. His Majesty the King accepted the oath of the said government.

A sentiment of humiliation and despair seized the entire country.

Our hope lies with those who henceforward can give us back independence and freedom : The United States and Great Britain.

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MR TATARESCU DICTATOR AND DEMOCRAT
GERMANY'S TOOL DISPLAYS STRONG
PROSOVIET SENTIMENTS

Mr Tatarescu was appointed Prime Minister on December 31st 1933, after the murder of I.G. Duca prime minister in function, committed by the legionaries. His appointment as president of the Council of Ministers had been decided at a meeting which took place between Mrs E. Lupescu, intimate friend of former King Carol II, and Mr Franasovici, friend of Mr Tatarescu. The couple Carol II and Elena Lupescu wanted at the head of the State a man of confidence and their choise proved to have been a very good one.

We do not intend here to trace the portrait of Mr Tatarescu, we shall relate only the necessary facts to present him in his double-faced character: dictator and Germany's tool - democrat and prosoviet.

In May 1936, Mr Tatarescu being Prime Minister, the first contact between ex-King Carol II and Hitler took place, in order to modify Roumania's foreign policy. Carol II and G. Tatarescu abandoned the nations with the help of which Greater Roumania has been formed and threw Roumania over into Germany's cluthches.

The Foreign Minister at the time was N. Titulescu, whose policy favoring an understanding with Russia is well known, and his policy was strongly supported by the National Peasant Party of which he was a member. For this reason, in the summer of 1936, Carol II and Mr Tatarescu decided to discharge Mr Titulescu, and nefarious policy at the side of Germany and against the U.S.S.R. was thus definitely brought about, and in order to consolidate his new foreign policy ex-King Carol II visited Hitler with the full agreement of Mr Tatarescu in automn 1938.

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In spring 1939 the aspect of things was plain. On April 13th 1939 Mr Tatarescu's Government issued a communiqué announcing that Roumania renounces the Anglo-French guarantees and asserting that "our present foreign political orientation is determined by the new European order in course of settlement".

This was plain and with no possibility of misinterpretation. Die neue Ordnung !

In September 1939 the war broke out. Mr Gafencu was entrusted with Roumania's Foreign Affairs.

On May 29th 1940, after the surrender of the Belgian army, in a conference held between Carol II, Mr Tatarescu and Mr Gr. Gafencu, a policy "adapted to reality" i.e. the siding with Hitler's policy was decided on.

In March 1939 Mr Tatarescu had already concluded an agreement of economical co-operation with "the great German Reich", and in June 1940 Mr Tatarescu invited the German Government to appoint a military mission in Roumania.

The former prime minister has published a booklet "The evacuation of Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina" in which he disclosed everything. He openly declares in it that "our policy of deepening relations with Germany and Italy began in 1936" (page 14). His faith in Germany's victory is indestructible: "The day of the 10th May 1940 (attack againt France) liquidates the European order installed by the victory of the Allies in 1918 and the entire balance it created".

It is true that the booklet does not conclude with "Heil Hitler" but with something very like it: " We must urge the process of Roumania's adaptation to the new European order. External as well as internal adaptation". (page 25).

During the Antonescu dictatorship, Mr Tatarescu accompanied

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the former to Chisinau and openly manifested his love for the Germans and his hatred against the U.S.S.R.

Today Mr Tatarescu has suddenly become the most ardent friend of the U.S.S.R., and denies others - the National Peasant Party and Mr Maniu - their sentiments towards our great neighbour in the East.

Is it possible that he has forgotten, what nobody among us cannot forget, that in his capacity of State Minister of the Police he staged a so called communist rebellion at Tatar-Bunar (Bessarabia) with a view of finding a pretext to indulge in savage reprisals and bring about the permanent persecution of the communists ? Has Mr Tatarescu forgotten his fulminant speech delivered in the Chamber of Deputies on the occasion of the events of Tatar-Bunar, in which he attacked the IIIrd Inetrnationale? What of the anti-Soviet attitude of his press ?

As regards Roumania's home policy our upstart and servile fellow gnawed by ambition and devoid of all the dignity demanded by the post he occupied, bears more more than his master Carol II the heavy responsibility of Roumania's disaster. But for him, a vile instrument in the hands of a despicable king, the latter could not have realised his dictatorial desires.

For four years the Tatarescu government was the personal cabinet of King Carol II. It opened the way to the latter's dictatorship established in February 1938. Mr Tatarescu did not preside over this nefarious act, but shortly after he became the principal piller of the dictatorial scaffolding.

On June 21st 1940, being anew president of the Council of Ministers, Mr Tatarescu countersigned bill No.2056 (Official Gazette No.142/940, page 3122) for the creation of a "unique, totalitarian party" entitled "The Nation's Party" - "which is an institution of public right."

The argumentation for the support of the bill, after explai-

ning the notion of "unique, totalitarian party", determined that "the party and the State are a single reality divided by different attributions". "The Party and the State are the two faces of a single reality: the organised nation". It was just like listening to Mr Goebbels!

Another bill for "the defence of the political and totalitarian order of the Roumanian State (Official Gazette No.142, page 3122) provides for the sanctioning, with 5 years imprisonment of those who commit "any act tending to throw discredit on the organisation of the sole policy, acknowledged by law". (The Nation's Party).

From February 1938 to the 23rd August 1944, public liberty was suppressed. The press, parliament and any free manifestation no longer existed. Mr Tatarescu had inaugurated and harshened the methods thanks to which the coup d'Etat of February 1938 was made possible. Later on, Mr Tatarescu was the complete beneficiary of this overthrow.

Today the assistant-dictator speaks of democracy and has only words of contempt for the Anglo-American democracy. We must own that as regards this last question, Mr Tatarescu is consequent. He was never a friend of America and Great Britain.

And this man, the most sinister fellow of our contemporary policy, has been chosen by the National Democratic Front to represent in Mr Groza's "democratic" government the liberal middle class.

The National Peasant Party immediately demanded after the 23rd August 1944 his arrest and his trial by the People's Tribunal. But the National Democratic Front opposed it. It needed an element which it could use at its discreetion. The list of war criminals will never be closed, Mr Tatarescu must look out say the communists and we remind him of it also.

A small number of renegades of the National Peasant Party have adhered to the National Democratic Front. They are persons of no importance and quite unknown to the great public. It has been also proved that the greater part of them were for some time inscribed in the "communist cellules" and remained in the National Peasant Party to play a cheap role which finished as soon as those who betrayed the peasantry's interests had entered the Government of 6th March 1945.

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Translation from the Roumanian language

Ministry of the Interior (Home Depart.)
Direction of Public Order
Nr.21497 1 December 1944

Ministry of the Interior
Cabinet
Nr.4238 - 2nd Dec.1944

I have the honour to inform you that on 30th October 1944, the Police Staff of Dorohoi having arrived there in order to take possession of their service, have found another Police Service under the leadership of Rohrlich, a Jew.

The entire staff of the local Police is composed of under age Jews or of individuals who are in the clutches of the law.

At the approaches made by the Commander of the Gendarmes Inspectorate at Suceava, with a view to setting up the Official Police into their rights, the Local Organs, constituted to that effect (ad-hoc), have made a selection of the Police Staff that had arrived there for their re-setting up.

Out of a total of 148 Police functionaries - including the constables (Street Guardians), the Commission composed of Jews have retained 101 persons.

At the Dorohoi Police all the Police Officers and most of the Agents have been found to be undesirable people.

In spite of the selection made, the Staff that has been approved by the inhabitants, and which Staff has not yet started their functions, cannot work for the reason that there is no vacancy.

The Jewish population of that place is hostile to the reinstallation of the official Police.

At Fălticeni, the Police Staff has arrived there, in view of resuming work, on 6th November 1944.

The Chief of Police accompanied by the Commandant of the Gendarmes Corps, appeared before Mr.Munteanu, Prefect of the Baia District, who refused to assist the Police to be reinstated.

Having afterwards presented themselves to the Police Headquarters they have been received by a Major of the Russian Army, Commander of the Local Garrison, to whom they (the Police) explained the situation and he answered that the work of the inhabitants forming the Fălticeni Police is satisfactory to him.

The Chief of Police seeing that every endeavour for the reinstallation of the Service under his orders, is in vain, approached the Prefect of the District to let him have a written paper reffering to the present situation.

The remainder of the Police Staff, composed of 1 Commissaire 4 Agents and 17 Constables, were arrested, soon after their arrival and imprisoned in the cells of the Police Headquarters, by the Jew Fucs, who acts as Sub-Chief of the Security Office.

The cases reported above are logically included into a real operation plan applied by the native inhabitants nearly in all the places in Moldavia.

With a view to putting a stop to this situation, we think it is necessary to adopt certain steps which will restore order.

Kindly let us have a written order regarding your point of view conducing to that end.

MINISTER UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE
ss General Virgil Stănescu

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Translated from the Roumanian lang.n

99

Direction General of Police
Informative Bulletin
Nr.328 - 30. 10. 44

00045

Meeting of the National Democratic Front (F.N.D.) at Deva.

On the 26th November 1944, a meeting of the National Democratic Front took place in the town of Deva, there being present som 600 - 700 persons from the town and from the district.

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At the end of the speeches, the crowd marched in columns and inf front of the Prefecture building made a manifestation aiming at the replacement of the present Prefect, Colonel Traian Popa. A delegation composed of ten representatives, presented themselves before him informing him that the meeting asks that he should resign, Mr.Augustin Almăşeanu,Lawyer at Deva being his successor.

The crowd dispersed quietly.

On the 28th November 1944 the Prefecture was informed that the Prefect's resignation has been accepted and that the Subprefect was ordered to act in his place until further notice.

Inspectorate General of Gendarmerie

Nr.762
28th November 1944
15.30 hours

Special Informative Bulletin

A manifestation of the National Democratic Front, participating some 800 persons has taken place to-day 28th November 1944, at 13,30 hrs. in the town of Târgovişte.

The crowd went to the Prefecture of the District , entered the building by force and have installed Mr. Gheorghe Popescu,teacher, as prefect.

No incidents.occurred.

Mr.Mihail Vuia, ex Prefect, was not at that time in town.

At the time we close this bulletin the crowd is at the Town-Hall continuing to manifestate with a view to changing the mayor.

Reliable information

Communicated to:

Presidency of Council of Ministers-Cabinet
Min. of the Interior, Cabinet
do Police
do State Administration
General Staff, 2nd Section.

29th November 1944

101

00047

Message

The Chief of Police at Braşov, reports by telephone that to-day, at 11.30, a group of 30 communists leaders, went to the Mayory of that town, and have installed, in the office of Mr. Aurel Precup, the present Mayor, Alexandru Cucu, a turner working at the "Astra" factory, as a Mayor, and Veleanu as his assistant, both of them being members of the local communist organization.

The delegation declared that they will stay at the Mayory until a confirmation is received from the Ministry of the Interior.

Mayor Precup also stated that he will remain at his post until the decision of the higher authorities reach him.

Chief of Police
ss I.Ciurea No.9330

102

Office of the clerk on duty

29th November 1944
11.10 hrs

00048

Telephone message
Nr.14021

Regional Police Inspectorate Bucharest
to
Direction General of Police

The Police Headquarters of Ploeşti reports that on 28th November 1944 a manifestation took place in that town at 14 hrs.National and allied flags were carried and flown.

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A delegation was received by Colonel Dimitropol, Prefect of the District who, on this occasion, presented his resignation.

At the Town-Hall Vidraşcu was appointed Mayor of the town, after which the crowd dispersed.

No incidents were recorded.

Inspector of Police
ss Statilescu

transmitted by
Commissaire Vişan

Commissaire on duty
ss illegible

Translated from the Roumanian lang.
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Gendarmerie Inspectorate General
No.48.435 of 30th November 1944.

00049 103

N o t e

With reference to out Special Informative Bulletin Nr.742 of 19th November 1944, we inform you:

On the 18th November 1944, at 20 hours in the evening members of the "Patriotic Union" Guards of the city of Galatz, provided with Soviet armament, have occupied the building of the Inspectorate and that of the Police Headquarters of this city, having also arrested the staff that was on duty therein.

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As soon as the new employees have been installed, many peaceful citizens have been arrested, under imaginary pretext or as a revenge against them

The Garrison, the Legal Authorities and the Prefecture have not been able to take any steps whatsoever.

We are informed -as nobody can verify the facts- that about two hundred persons are in custody at the Police Headquarters. It appears that the members of the local patriotic guards intend to make similar changes both at the Post and Telegraph Office and at the Police Headquarters.

Communicated to:
Ministry of the Interior, Cabinet,
ditto Undersecretary of Stat Police,
ditto Undersecretary of State Administration

Room of the clerk on duty

29 November 1944
22.10 hours

00050

Telephone message
Nr.18638 S

Inspectorate General of Police at Timişoara
to
Direction General of Police

We beg to report that to-day at 14 hours, about 3000 persons, men and women, most of them labourers, have made a manifestation in fron of the Arad Town-Hall, where lawyer Palincaş of the National Democratic Front, was installed, with acclamations, as Mayor.

From there the crowd went to the building of the District Prefecture where a manifestation was made in front of the Prefecture for the installation as Prefect of lawyer Simandan of the National Dem.Front.

The present Prefect, Colonel (reserve) Bălan Ion, has reported the case to the Ministry of the Interior, and requested that instrumtions be issued in connection with the handing over of the Prefecture.

No incident took place.

Regional Inspector
ss Berescu Gr.

Transmitted by
agent Dumbravă Al.
received by
detective Dumitrescu N.

Reported to:
Min.of the Int.Cabinet,
Teohari Georgescu,Under Secretary of State
Gl Stănescu, ditto
Direction Gl of Police
Third Direction

Commissaire on duty
ss illegible

Translated from the Roumanian language n

105

Min.of the Int. Cabinet
Nr.4203 - 27 Nov.1944.-

Ministry of the Interior
Administrative Inspectorate General,
5th Circumscription,
Constantza.

00051

Sent on 21st Nov.1944

Personal confidential

The Minister of the Interior,
Cabinet (Private Office)
Bucharest.

Nr.4.032
20th November 1944
Călăraşi-Ialomiţa

The Mayor of the town of Mangalia, district of Constantza informs us that on the 9th November 1944, the Town-Hall has been occupied by force by the guards of the "Patriotic Union"Party and have installed as Mayor Mr.Constantin N.Dan and Mr. Serbănescu as Assistant to the Mayor, who have taken possession of the communal a dministration in virtue of a verbal order given by Mr.Duşa,who pretends to be prefect of the Constantza district.

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ss Administrative Inspector General

D. Tănăsescu

Principal Pretor

ss P.Tuţuianu

Translated from the Roumanian language :

106

Inspectorate General
of Gendarmerie

to

The Ministry of the Interior,
Cabinet

00052

We have the honour to inform you that on 8th November 1944, the Civil Police of the town of Botoşani, as a result of the orders received from the Headquarters of the "Patriotic Union" in that town, has disarmed the State Police sent to that place by order of the Government.

After the constables have been disarmed they were sent to the Police Headquarters where their uniforms were confiscated.

The Chief of Police, the said Stănescu, did not make any opposition when the men under his orders were disarmed,and he went to Bucharest to report the case.

The armament and the uniforms confiscated have been stored at the Headquarters of the "Patriotic Union" of that town.

On the 10th November 1944, the same Police has taken away from the Mayory of Vereşti, Botoşani district, all the archives of the Botoşani State Police, which had been left there in custody, and which afterwards was transported to the Headquarters of the Union.

Having in view the above, kindly give orders that the necessary instructions be issued in order that the State Police be enabled to work normally.

Inspector General of Gendarmerie
ss General Anton

Director of Security and
Public Order
ss Lt.Colonel Teodorescu

Communicated:
Min.of the Interior-Cabinet
ditto -Undersecretary of State Police

Inspectorate General
of Gendarmerie

Nr.770 - 5th December 1944

Political actions

On 1st December 1944, at 16,40 a group of 70 persons have made a manifestation in front of the District Prefecture asking that the Prefect be replaced.The group was led by the chief of the F.N.D. organization of Lugoj.

After the manifestation, the crowd went to the Town-Hall, where the mayor was replaced by Dr.Alex.Finescu, after which they all went, in order, to the headquarters of the organization, where they finally dispersed.

Reliable information.

Inspectorate General of Gendarmerie

Nr.759
27th November,1944
17 hrs

Special Informative Bulletin

Early this morning, 27th November 1944, the organization of the Communist Party of Brăila has installed as Prefect of the District the said Ignat, an employee at the Prefecture.

The legal prefect of the District, Colonel Bosie, having been requested to leave the building, went home.

Reliable information

Communicated to

Min. of the Interior, Cabinet,
,, ,Police,
,, ,State Administration,
General Staff, 2nd Section.

Direction General of Police

Nr.00441
29 Oct.1944

Message

Further to the Informative Note Nr.436 of 28th October 1944, referring to the replacement of the prefect and that of the mayor of Galatz, by a communist group:

Among the communist labourers who made the manifestation and were present at the installation, by force, of the dignitaries of the town, there were also some ten armed Soviet soldiers.

The local authorities are waiting for the instructions of the Ministry, to act accordingly.

Communicated to:
General Aldea, Minister of the Interior
General Liteanu, Minister Undersecretary of State of Police.

Directio General of Police	29 November 1944
19 hrs	00056

Message

The Regional Police Inspectorate, Timişoara, reports by telephone the following:

At 15 hrs a meeting took place at Timişoara, Union Square, there being present some 3.500 labourers.

They marched down in columns and went to the Prefecture where they demanded that the present Prefect should resign. They have proposed, by acclamations, that lawyer Giorneanu Gheorghe, presently assistant to the mayor, should be appointed PREFECT. He is a member of the Communist Party.

They afterwards want to the Town-Hall where they asked the mayor to resign, proposing in his place Drăgulescu Coriolan, University Professor.

The Mayor resigned telegraphically.

The Prefect not yet.

The meeting was over at 19 hrs. without any incident.-

POLICE HEAD-QUARTER
OF THE DISTRICT CONSTANŢA.

PROCLAMATION No.1

The National Democratical Front of the District Constanta has decided to occupy the Head-Quarter of the Police after the resignation of the former Prefect, Al.Bonache.

As the Government was also resigned, the interests of the workmen and of the peasants of this district being left to the stream of their destiny, in the evening of the 4-th November a.c., the workmen of Constanţa started towards the Police Head-Quarters having in front of them the Patriotical Formations of fight.

Here the workmen were received by the machin-gun, as the military Commanders ordered the soldiers to open the fire.

The Police Head-Quarters has been occupied by fightings. A great antifascist fighter found his heroical death, killed by the murderous bullets of the Legionaries, the military Commanders had disguised in military uniform.

To-day, the Police Head-Quarters and the whole district, is in our hands.

Placed here by the will of the peasants and workmen, I order:

1) In all villages and in all urbane Communities a mayor and a Community Counsellor, constituted by the most honest citizens, who are fighting for the democratical cause, should be elected in a free manner.

2) The old Communal Counsellors are and remain abolished, as they were not elected by the worker's classes and as they are not representing their interests;

3) The Rural Police Force is put under the order of the elected village Committees, ceasing any activity of terror and of intimidation against the peasants, restraining themselves only to the quality of police against evil-doers.-

4) For the security, order and peace of the peasants and of the workmen-classes, there should be organised in the villages at once - there where they are not to be found - patriotical fight formations or patriotical guards;

5) Every requisition for the Red Army or the Rumanian Army will be undertaken by the elected village-Committees, firstly

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from the wealthy people, whilst the poor ones who cannot pay in kind will have to pay in cash for what they must give to the requisitions;

6) An appeal is made to all employees of this district in respect of resolving the demands of the peasants, keeping firstly in sight the political and social conditions, in which we are living;

7) All abusers, saboteurs and speculants will be severely punished by the People's Tribunal, which will be soon constituted.

8) All land-possessors (farmers) are obliged to work their land.-

9) The merchants are obliged to provide themselves with goods and should not hide or sell such goods in a hidden manner with prices surpassing legal wages.-

10) All authorities, schools, institutions etc. are invited to work normally; also all citizens of the district should keep their calmness and should continue their work;

11) All materials, industrial installations etc. coming from the U R S S should be immediately restored, under conditions having been fixed before.

Present proclamation will be read before the whole village and will be advertised on the walls.

Given to-day, 4-th of November, at 11 o'clock in the night.

The Chief of the Police
Head-Quarters
District of Constanța

VICTOR DUȘA

THE ACTION OF COMMUNISATION OF THE JUSTICE

The same sectarian and abusiv spirit which characterizes all governemental manidestations of the F.N.D.' ministers, in all the spheres of public life: in the administration itself, in the schools, in the army, in the sphere of the organisation of all sorts of professional avtivities, either workmen or intellectuals is to be observed also in the activity and the conduct of the Justice Ministry.

If we examine the various aspects of the activities as manifested by the Ministry of Justice, this characterisation is entirely justified.

Indeed:

The necessity of dismissing from the magistracy the elements which addicted themselves in the past as partcipants to the manifestations of the political parties or accepted to act as blind servants of the precedent dictatotial governings, has been advocated and sustained by all political formations which entered the first governement formations which have been instituted after the 23rd of August 1944.-

But whilst tje parties considered as reactinary by the F.N.D. formations, conceived and pursued that the work of purification in the magistrcy and administration should be made objectively and impartialy, the way in which it has been realised afterwords did not respect these conditions and did not aim to reject these servil elements, who did nor cooresponds to the high mission fo a judge, but they considered necessary to secure a number as large as possible of servil elements on the service of the actual leadership of the Ministry of Justice, without any regards as to their qualifications and their slight capacity for the services they were entrusted.-

Having in view the epuration of those high magistrate, the Minister of Justice, a man of the Communists Party and actually a factor of the executive power, modifying the law for epuration did receive for himself the quality of president of the Epuration Comission, and thus proceeded to the trial of several magistrates wh whom he had already attacked by public speeches, becamind thus judge instead of public prosecutor.-

This has been the first manifestation from which there might be observed that the sentiment of objectivity and serene impartiality which ought to be possessed by all those called to be judges is not being appreciated by the communist Minister of Justice.-

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But the desire to form servil cadres in the magistracy and to reject the magistrates which might represent by their character and their capacity an impediment to the administration of a party's justice has not been realised by the way of epuration, because fortunately the elements which in the past, have shown an attachment for the hitlerist ideals, and who, especially in their function have exerted their attributions against the principles of justice and right, were not too numerous.-

The dictatorship, instaled in our country under various form since 1938, was tolerated, but neither sypathised nor aproved by the conscience of the majority of our State's cadres, thus, the elements which by their "personal activity might have entered into the servuce of the hitlerism and fascism, or might have been active in these organisations, against the democtratical principles", were very few.-

This fact has made evident in a striking manner, by the way in which the large majority of our people gave their adhesion to the action of eliberation from the 23rd August 1944 without any possibility of denial by the very reduced number of functionaries of all categories and especially of magistrates which have been epurated for their prohitlerist or profascist activity, although more than a year passed since are being put into practice the measures and the laws for epuration.-

Consequently the aim, -as we have shown it above- was to secure a most servile magistracy in dependency of the orders of the leadership of the Ministry of Justice, the measures of epuration were not in the condition to give any effective results.

This situation obliged the Minister of Justice to consider other means in order to realise this purpose.-

Instead of legislating an objectif and as perfect as possible a system, concerning the recruiting and the selctioning of the magistrates, and so that the cermanency should consecrate and grant a real qualified, dignified and impartial justice, the Minister of Justice simply suspends its permanency for a period of nearly one year, that is to say until the 1st of September 1945, extending up to this date the first period of four months, which was already stated in the Decree-Law of 19th December 1944. Therefore if the conflict from the 22rd August 1945 occured betweer the King and the actual government would not have happened, it is certain that the period of the suspending of the permanency of the magistracy would have been again extended.-

By suspending the magistrecy's permanency, the Minister of Justice, reserved his right to dismiss any magistrate, without stating the reason thereof and without giving even any disciplinar character to these dismissal.

This exorbitant power, which he promised no more to put into practice, but which he still employs; as appointing, transferi-

and promoting the magistrates,without asking the advice of the Superior Council of Magistracy,suspending even the marks of qualification for the magistrates,as well as the Decision to lower the age limit in view to pensionn the magistrates at an age at which in the past no regime has ever accepted,created the condition so that the whole magistracy has been radicaly changed in a measure that has never been registrated before.-

Thus the Supreme Court counts in the present moment more than half of its 7o members,introduced and promotated during this year by the [illegible];as a consequence not even the eldest member of the Supreme Court,might have a longer term than 8 years, so that their majority in the pretorium of this Court may hardly reach the age of 5o.-

The same situation exists at all the Appelate Courts and Tribunals in the country,as changes of unknown proportions occured in the cadres of the whole magistracy.Thus the aglomeration of slight prepared elements,who especially being deprived of the magistracy'permanence and terrorised at the idea of being dismissed,lost even the shade of any independence,the fear of remaining without any job in these actual extremely difficult conditions of life,oppressing all impulses of conscience which might order them to resist the pressions and exert their mission with integrity.-

This aspect of junction over the magistrates,might be revealed ba the hundreds of cases amongst of which are to be fixed the most characteristics:

The prosecutors of the Tribunal of Ilfov,cannot carry on the legal prosecution on the misuse of power and ilegal arrestations of individuals cooped for weeks and months in the police arrests;they being impended to this even by their chief - the prime-prosecutor.-

Because on the 23rd of August of this year,at a meeting which ttook place at the Royal Palace' square has been manifested and acclaimed with slogans "Long live the King",an important number of persons have been put under arrest by the Office of the public prosecutor and that of the Martial Court,and the prosecutors received orders to open public action and bring these persons into trial.-

The decisions given by the Prosecutors of the Public Prosecutor'Office,are not carried on by the organs of the police, the same happens as regard the written orders to eliberate those who are ilegally arrested,the sheriffs refuse to execute the prosecutors'orders.Amongst other cases we mention:the merchants Shapira and Kaufman,proprietors of the shop"Nadia" in Lipscani Street 62,who were kept ilegally arrested during 3o days.-

When the prosecutor Romano drew up the legal documents, in order to open the public action for misuse of power against the sheriffs:Calugaru,Lazarescu and Nichifor from the Police Head Quarters,by a special order from the part of the Minister of

Justice,handed over by the Prim Prosecutor,nò vent has been given to this charge.-

One of these sheriffs - Golugea - insulted in a written address the judge for instruction Paul Petrescu,because the latter ordered as due the eliberation of the merchand Dobrescu,Lipscani Street,cooped ilegaly.-

No measure has been taken against the abusive and insolent police functionary for the injure brought to the prestige of the magistracy and the merchant Dobrescu,whose sabotage crimination has been closed,after having been sheared,was kept into the police-cell,because he went to the Police Head-quarters to ask for his goods,which have been ilegally confiscated.-

The bailiff Buruiana,when going to the Ministry of National Economy,to carry out a presidential ordinance,by which the restitution of several ilegal confiscated goods was disposed,the General Secretary of the Departement Mr.Radu Paul,threatend the bailiff to call officers of Tudor Vladimirescu Division,in case he would ask for any help in order to execute his mission,these officers have the capacity to hinder the fulfillment of such orders emanating from the Justice organs.-

In exchange,a high magistrate,Councilor at the Appelate Court,Stănescu,has been rejected from the magistracy,since January past,without giving him any reason for it,because in his capacity as Royal Assistant Magistrate of the Martial Court did not proceed to arrest all the medicine-students who participated at a meeting of their Student Medical Society.The arrestation of all these students was claimed by the newspaper"Scânteia",Communist official organ,on the pretention that these students made hitlerist manifestations,but this statement did not result out from the investigations made by the high magistrate in question.-

These few examples show the atmosphere in which the magistrates are called to work actually(the honest ones being subjected to the mockeries and after to be rejected,the others being terrorised)these examples prove what kind of safe-guard the justice may provide to the citizens to-day,working justice which is under the communist authority.-

Apart this,on the 15-th of September 1945,that is to say after that the term of Magistracy's permanency has been suspended,the Minister of Justice informed that he will continue epurating the magistracy,because said the Minister "We want that the magistracy sould present"another mentality and another soul" than the one they had".-The laziness of thoughts,the lack of understanding for what is happening in the world,and in a great part the wish to leave in the atmosphere of the past,must be radically rejected.-We would not be marxists if we would not find the explanation of the phenomenon.-

Untill now the magistracy was a part of an apparatus of repression in the interest of a minority.-

But the time of expectation cannot last for ever._

The problem of the organic change of the magistracy and justice, will certainly be put into execution by us, and as all the operations it will not be possibly realised without pain"!-

Out of this philippic there is not to be detached the preocupation and the anxiety of a Minister of Justice, that the magistracy and justice are not granting the rights and liberties but the discontent that the magistracy is not sharing the political ideals and the sectarian mentality of the actual totalitarian governing.-

Because all this philippic is but the consequence of the statement, made by the Minister in the same speech, that in the struggle against the speculation, as an answer to all his impulses, things have been improved, but he did not see""this determining turning of total and maximum gearing of the magistracy in this fight".-

Maintening himself in the frame of a few vague criminations, without orecising the cases in which the magistracy might have been realy deficient, as regards to combat the speculation, the Minister pleases himself in such general formulations, which are hiding in reality his anger that a chaotic and uneffective legislation as the one to combate the speculationabout which we will make latter considerations, connected in practice with the most unshameful misuse of the administrative organs, individuals recently recruitel amongst the most disqualified partsans, is not in a position to avoid the disastrous effets of the laws and measures, which in the economical order were set up by the Groza government, in dispise of the economic realities ane the serious situation in wchich the country is to be found, as regards the production, in connection with the burdens it has to bear.-

The tendency of giving the magistracy a political mark and by its gearing into the ways of governing, practised by the actual government, are to be observed even into the public manifestations of some magistrates.- The Council of the Supreme Appelative Court, Brosteanu, recently promoted in this function and who has been General Secretary of the Ministry of Justice several monthsago, is very diligent to succeed that though the magistrat's sindicate, whose president he proclaimed himself, undertaking to fight openly against some of his colleagues thus influencing them and their collaborators and as a consequence, associating them to the manifestations of political order at the National Democratic Front (F.N.D.).-This magistrate signed a political-manifest, drawn up ba several partisans of the Government, by wchich was made the propaganda in its favour,

with the conclusion to support the actual Government in any circumstances,even after the King withdrew it His confidence.

Pursuing the policy of anslaving and terrorisung the magistracy,as well as the whole State's apparatus,the Minister of Justice,only a few days after the installment of Dr.Groza' Government modified the law of epuration of the public administration,so that any functionary's action which might displeace the Government,even the one who has the right to be an active participant in the politics,may be dismissed.-

Indeed,article 3 of the law from the 30-th of March 1945 providesthat there may be dismissed the functionaries who after the 23rd of August 1944,by all means of publicity or propaganda had or are having an anti-democratic attitude.-

As we know that for the actual government anti-democratic attitude is called any manifestation of the opposition parties,any criticism brought to the actal governing,any opposition to the adaptation of the ideologic and totalitarism practice which are characterising the National Democratic Front' manifestations it might be imagined how far can go the pressure and a temporar misuse of power exerted by the actual government and in what measure the liberty of consciousness and of manifestation or non-manifestation of all the public employees is being forced.-

As regards the rights of self-defence,the sign which stands at the basis of the most elementary sentiment of justice ,consecrated by centuries of sufferings of the mankind for justice,the real measure of the degree of civilisation and respect for the truth of a societa,it is enough to say that at the ad-hoc Tribunal of the People the defence could not be made but in conditions as above state,thus that in some cases it has been completely abolished,since the defenders could not have any contact with the culprits,could not study their files and could not enter into the sitting-hall of the Court,but with th authorisation of she Prime Prosecutor Bunaciu,who was not to be found,or who simply refused to give the authorisation and the entrance into the hall.-

In order that this law term may be fairly executed,at thep presidency of this ad-hoc Tribunal,has been apointed a magistrate who during the war against Russia,had the funcsion of a Royal commisary in Transnistria,and war himself sesceptible of investigations and eventual trials for the part he has played up there.-

Besides the system,of employing elements to whom the fear of being interrogated about their former activity,determines them to accept any role however degrutating might it be ,is used in the greatest part by the government and the goups of the National Democtratic Front.-

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The Communist Party has incorporated in its cadres all the legionary elements to whom the violency and the unscrupulousness in all their manifestations were not repugnant to them, laid into the service of the hitlerist ideals which they were serving,elements which now are addicting themselves to the same kind of manifestation of violence and impudent disdain for people's liberties and wealth;actually being at the service og the National Democratic Front.-

As an characteristic illustration as regards the respect of the rights of self-defence,is to be mentioned the philippic addressed by the Minister of Justice in the same x speech of the 15 of September 1945,addressed to the lawyers.

" Several days ago,was brought into trial the case of a few people from the Martial Court,who were sentenced by the Justice.

These young men didn't represent something of the democracy's ideal either in liberty or in prison,but for their defence 73 lawyers inscribed themselves to pleade their case.

It is not just an occurence.-The up till now epuration of the lawyers did not solve the problem".-It is clear that the Minister is not seeing in this fact the real significance of the impulses which animated the lawyers'consciousness to defend these young culprits.It is a fact that in reallity,the trial was nothing else bur a ridiculous scenery,completed with revolting hottots,an action of the communist police-service in which a Military Court was constituted with the purpose to sentence them.Thus it could hardly pronounce but insignificant punishments.The fact also that so large a number of lawyers incribed,more than necessary for their defence in this trial,(in the hypothesis this fact is being exact) the Minister didn't see nothing else but a fascist manifestation,when in reality it has been only the spontaneous reflex of the revolted consciousness against the totalitarian practises ana disdain for the people's liberty,which are being practised by the actual regime,after glorifying himself for the fact of having protested and ploted and suffered in the past,during the dictatorship for restrictions and impossibility to manifest the communist ideology.-

The Minister of Justice considers that the deserved answer to this is to continue and to accentuate the epuration of the lawyers,that is to say the application of these monstrous conception,in the virtue of which for their legal practic of their profession,the lawyers should be turnde out from their activity and therefore left without any means of securing the living possibilities in the profession they choosed.-

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In this affair the investigations lasted two months, and were conducted by the Head-Quarters of the General Secret Service.-

The military Office of the Public Prosecutor from Bucarest, when receiving the file on the beginning of September 1945 had not the chance, to end its investidations as they were absolutely necessary, because, the probatories were not administered; the Government(the Minister of War as well as the General Secretary of the Presidency of the Minister's Council, Emil Botnăraş) dispoding that the trial be completed and finished till September 1945, date on which the Council of the 5 Foreign Ministers was to meet in London.-

On the first term of the trial, the process has been postponed, so that on the second term the members of the jury, had to be completely changed with persons from out-side the Martial Court.-

Thus: as President of the Jury - instead of a general - has been appointed the Colonel Magistrate, Alexandru Petrescu, who has been turned out from the Army be the actual government as one who has been, during the dictatorship od Marshal Antonescu one of the principal collaborators, in the capacity of General Director of the Penitenciaries, reason for which, Colonel Petrescu, was himself brought into trial by the actual government before the Peoples Tribunal.-

The judges: one of them was active in the Cabinet of the actual Minister of War, General Vasiliu Răşcanu, and the other one was appointed in his capacity og being member of the"Tudor Vladimirescu Division"(This Division has been formed in the U.R.S.S. and is comprising Roumanian prisoners).-(The Division is set under the direct control of the organs of the Red Army).-

A Lt.Colonel (Gicoveanu) refusing to function as a member in this jury, in shich capacity he was appointed, by the fact of the frequent changes which occured, has been taken by force from the halls of the Martial Court and put unde arrest, at the disposal of the Peoples Tribunal (the Cabinet presided by Mr.Draghici and this for imaginary reasons, so that after seven days of being cooped was left free after the scandal which has been provoked by this illegal arrestation.-

By the Ministry of Home Affairs, it has been tried, in order to intimidate the lawyers pleading in the process, inventing cases for them, in order to impend them to assist these unfortunate young prople.-

In order to create the necessary atmosphere, into the Court's hall have been brought government)s agents, as well as numerous groups of individuals, who arrived there by special cars.

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surrounding the place in the moment when it was said that Mrss. Iuliu Maniu and Dinu Brătianu were to come to testify.-

Owing only to the fact that in the Court's hall were present the Anglo-American observers, has been possible to avoid more evident demonstrations.-

All the verbal and written complaints, made by the culprits of the case "T" on this occasion, for the declarations dictated by the investigating organs of the Secret Service, are stating how they have been tortured, terrorised and beaten at the Head Quarters of the General Secret Service, as well as in the prison of the Secret Servise located in the building of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, where, they have been illegaly transferdd between the first and the second term of the judgment, facts which are being testofied with official medical certificates, as well as confirmed in the secret sitting of the Court, all of them remaining without any effective result.-

(The file is to be found at the Martial Court in Bucarest).-

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__The case of the General of Division Marinescu__

__Gheorghe, Commander of the Anti-Aircraft.__

Put under arrest, for political questions against the actual government, has been kidnaped in the midnight from the prison of the Martial Court, Bucharest, by the General Secretary of the Council of Ministers, Emil Bodnăraş, against the energetic opposition of the General, thus drawing him away from the trial.-

There is no more trace of him.-

(The file is to be found at the Appelative Military Court of Justice)

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__The case of the assasination of the General Prosecutor__

__from Constanta.__

The military prosecutor's public office from Constanta, investigating the case of disapearance of a Lt.Commander of the Roumanian Military Navy, arriving at the proof that the latter has been killed by the organs of the local police, being deadly shot on the street in day time.

The attempters have been put under arrest by a Soviet patrool which incidentaly was on the spot.-

The chief of the Military Public Office Prosecutor from Constanta, starting the investigations, established, that the attempters, were communist policemen from the Secret Service from Constanta.-

On account of these conclusions, Emil Bodnăraş, General Secretary of the Council of Ministers, arriving from Bucharest

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especially for this case at Constanta, appointed another military prosecutor from Bucharest, recommended by him.-

The latter, who was near to be brought into trial at the People's Tribunal as a war criminal, in order to protect himself falsified the truth, arriving at the conclusion that the murdered man has been killed by lost bullets.

(The file is to be found at the Ministry of War, Direction of Military Justice.)

The arrestations and perquisitions in the majority of these cases, being effected at midnight, contrary to the provisions of the Roumanian laws, are made by the organs of the General Secrete Police, without the authorisation of the military or civilian Prosecutor's public offices, so as is going stated by the laws in vigour.-

There, where, the Chiefs of Prosecutor's Public Offices are asking the entrance into legality, they are being requested then to deliver blanc writs, or unmotivated ones from the police, and in the case they are refusing to work in such illegal conditions they are being dismissed.

The whole Justice is being influenced by the police, directed especially by the communists personnel, without any specialisation in the capacity of police services.-

The solutions, especially in the political trials, are being dictated and observed by the government, imposing upon the free appreciation of the judges, which are being threatened with dismissals or menaced to be brought into invented trials before the People's Tribunal.-

From the file completed on the occasion of the incidents occured on February 1945, in the Royal Palace's square, fact which created the motive for the fall of Radescu's government, it might be observed that the result of the judges investigations, have established, undoubtfully that it was not the Army that has shot the people on that occasion.-

For these reasons, the result of the investigation, has not been published any more.-

The People's Tribunal whose legal functioning ceased on the 1-st of September 1945, is still continuing its activity through the Cabinets of Instruction.-

The preventive convicts, who are in a sufficient number are being kept into the prison of Stree Uranus, under a very severe regime.-

Amongst them, personalities such as: former ministers, high magistrates, who are being cooped for 8 months, have nor yet been examined.-

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Many of them began to present signs of mental insanity on account of the phisical and moral conditions in which they are being kept.-

The normal judicial organs are not being permited to enter these prisons, in the case they need to establish the state in which these convicts are being held, not to control the legality of their arrestation.-

As regards the question above mentioned reffering to the practises and legislative measures which instead of bringing the improvment of the actual economical conditions, is aggravating them, the best illustration of this state of affairs, is the law which sanctions the economical sabotage, law which was edicted in view of supressing the speculation.-

The advertissed purpose of this lefislation emanating from the high spheres of the communist Party, is to secure the people's food supplies, thus protecting the population from the speculations of the merchants and the industrial goups, considering it as a necessity, on acount of the lack of raw-materials and means of subsistence. Put into practice this law, neither turned out the speculation, nor the needs of which the great majority of the population is suffering, being in reality nothing else than the instrument employed by the Government's partisans, for accomplishing unqualified misuses of power, destined to create special material advantages, to some of the institutions and organisations, which are depending of the Communist Party, or, in a direct manner which may be of service to some of the members of this Party.-

The means by which, it is possible to arrive to, this situation, is the following:

As soon as a procés-verbal of speculation is drawn up, the law states that the merchandise is being declared unavailable, and is being given into custody until the moment the justice pronounces the sentence : in case of condemnation, the merchandise has to be confiscated in virtue of the Court's Decision; in case of discharge, the merchandise has to be restored to its proprietor.-

In practice the things are happening in a quite a different way.-The administrative organs, in charge with the control of the speculation, are comprising questionable persons without the elementary sense of responsability and legality, who are taking the merchandise as soon as they have drawn up the procés-verbal, sometimes even without drawing it up. The Merchandise is then distributed to some public store-houses, syndicates or co-operatives, which are being accepted by the government, and these proceed to its distribution at low prices.

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In many cases, the justice finds,that the crimination of speculation and sabotage is not justified,and thus cancels the procés-verbal drawn up by the organs of control and discharges the culprit.-

As a legal consequence,it is evident,that the merchandise should be restored to the unguilty merchant or the industrial group.-But just as it has been stated already,the merchandise is no more to be found,and than in order to justify,the arbitrary measures,which were put into practice,the official organs are turning to another measure,which constitutes a new illegality,the named merchandise is declared to be blocked and thus at the disposal of the Ministry of Economy,(commission of the supertviser of the prices).This is an illegality,because the economical laws in vigour,authorise the blockade of some products and merchandises bur not the blickade of goods from a single or special shop,but the whole quantity of a special mechandise,which is to be found in whatever district,thus having but in view its ratinalisation.-

The blocking of the,goods of a certain merchant,which were to be retored to him,as a consequence of his discharge, for non- speculation or sabotage,appears to be evident as not being but an illegal and abusive measure,taken because the merchandise was already consumed without expecting the Court's decision.-

Such cases are innumerable,and we eill present a long list of such decisions,for the blickade of goods,found in independent undertakings and shops,decisions publiched in the Official Monitory.-

We are citing as exampli gratia: the shoe-shop Elena ivopol,street Smârdan and the clothing material shop of Willy Bronfeld.The procés-verbal drawn upto the proprietors of these shops,have been cancelled by zhe prosecutor's public office and the prosecutor.-

The Ministry of Economy confiscated the merchandise and ordered its destribution from the very first moment (to this first mentioned shop,has been rejected the custody in the person of the husband,Panait Ivopol).Wherefore the merchandise could not be restored any more.-Decisions from blockade have been delivered and they are now subject for special trials on account of their illegal character mentioned above.-

Such a way of proceeding against such a large number of merchants and industrial groups,is not only a robbery of their walth,but it is also the progressive distruction of the coomerce,an aim also pursued by zhe Communist Party,for the purpose of which is organising public store-houses,to whom the

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Party distributes the goods and foof supplies thus confiscated.-

From the short examination presented above, on the xxx various aspects of the government's activities in justice, may be detached the conclusion, that a destructive work has now been achieved, which can be thus recapitulated:

-The terrorising and decay of the magistracy,
-The disdain and the supression of the self defence,
-The continual abusive interference in the granting of people's justice,
-The violation of the citizens liberties,
-The deprival of the proprieties of a certain category of people.-

All these having actually as effect the total distraction of people's confidence and respect towards the State's Justice, which became now but a servile instrument in the hands of the Government for the suppression of the people's rights and public liberties.-

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War Ministry
Cabinet.

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INSTRUCTIONS

00072

Nr.21.127 of Oct.2.1945

With regard to the competences, rights and obligations of the General Inspection Office of the Army for Education, Culture and Propaganda, of the executive and administrative offices of the Under-Secretariates of the State, the Army, the Corps, the Territorial Commandments, the Divisions, the Regiments, the Territorial Centers, the Schools, etc., as well as of the Assistant ECP Commanders, Directors, Sub-Directors and ECP Assistants of the Units and Sub-Units.-

I. General Inspector of the Army for education, culture and propaganda.-

1.- The General Inspector of the Army for E.C.P. is directly subordinated to the War Ministry and he receives his orders and dispositions exclusively from the War Ministry.-

2.- The entire educational, cultural and propaganda activities are conducted, for the whole Roumanian Army, exclusively by the General Inspection Office of the Army for the ECP.-

3.- The orders programs of activity, as well as all dispositions given by the General Inspector of the Army for ECP in connection with the efficient development of the educational, cultural and propaganda activities, are obligatory and are to be executed as well by the inferior ECP organs, as by the commanders in chief, having the authority of orders emanating from the War Ministry.-

4.- The staff that will be enrolled in the educational apparatus, form part of the active combative staff of the army.-
The organization of the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP, provides also - apart from other departments - a new department for the staff attendants, the competences of which comprise the suggestions for nominations, displacements and detachments, in conjunction with the ECP staff.- The setting up and the carrying on of the files of the ECP staff, as well as the propositions for promotion, decoration, etc., for the educational staff, will be taken care of by the hierarchical ECP chiefs.- The record on the qualification of this staff, will

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also comprise the appreciation of the respective commander-in-chief, on the discipline, character and the activities shown in the units, or on service, etc.-

The furlough of the ECP staff, up to the assistant commander of a regiment (inclusive), will be granted only with the approval of the General ECP Inspector.- In respect of the ECP staff of the battalions, companies, platoons and similar formations, the furlough of the ECP staff will be granted by the ECP organs of the divisions, with the approval of the Assistant ECP Corps Commanders.-

5.-Should the post of the commander-in-chief (M.U.) of units, sub-units and other military formations become vacant, the assistant ECP commander cannot take charge of the respective units in peace times, this being arranged in conformity with the standing provisions in force.-

6.-The publication of any printings (books, pamphlets, magazines, papers, pictures, illustrated, commemorative and historical post-cards, geographical and historical maps, and any other printings, having an educational, cultural and propaganda character) for the army, will be made exclusively by the General Inspection Office of the army for ECP, or by its sub-ordinated organs.-

7.-Any printings (books, pamphlets, magazines, papers, etc.) being imported from abroad, will exclusively be distributed in the army, by the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP, or by its sub-ordinated organs, after having been approved by the General Inspection Office.-

8.-The military editorial offices, which publish periodical printings, etc., having a technical military character, will be supplemented by a representative of the ECP organs of the respective formations, in order to secure the preservation of the democratic spirit, which has to predominate in all spheres of activity.-

9.- In order to enable the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP, to exercise in due course its obligations for the satisfaction of the educational, cultural and propaganda needs of the entire army with printings of any kind, all departamental offices and installations, existent in the army in this

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respect, (typographic-offices, zincographic-offices, bookbinderies, etc.) are obliged to execute the printings of the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP, or its sub-ordinated organs - upon demand with priority - until the General ECP Inspection Office, will dispose of its own typographic office.-
All apparatuses and means of broadcast (diffusion and reception) cinema apparatuses, photographical apparatuses and equipment, as well as all other technical equipment which has been in the possession of the Cultural Service Departments, which have been used, or can be used as means of education, culture and propaganda, will be transfered to the administration of the General Inspection Office of the Army for Education, Culture and Propaganda.-

10.-Any cultural, artistic or sportive manifestation that takes place or that is organized in the army (artistic performances, expositions, cinema shows, sportive competitions, etc.) will be made by the Educational Organs or with their advice.-
The respective ECP organs, are competent to participate and to contribute in organizing meetings having an official or fellowship-like character.-

II.

The relations between the ECP Organs and the Commandments and the General Staff.

1.-The Assistant ECP Commanders are directly sub-ordinated to the commandments of the respective units.- As to the sphere of activity, ECP organs obtain their orders, instructions and programs of activity, exclusively from the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP, or from the superior ECP organs with which they have direct connections.-
The Assistant Commanders, will inform the commanders of the respective units, as to the activity programs received from the superior ECP organs and will co-operate and accept propositions and suggestions of the commanders of the respective units, to the extent in which the latter contribute to the improvement of the ECP activities.-

2.-The Assistant ECP Commanders, are obliged to inform their commanders as to the state of the political moral of the units, and to make concrete propositions for measures to be taken in order to improve it - if necessary .-

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3.- In order to strengthen the authority and the prestige of the commander, the Assistance ECP Commander is obliged to take adequate measures, whereby the orders of the commander be brought to everybody's knowledge and to supervise that they are correctly interpreted and precisely executed.-

4.- In order to raise the level of the military preparations and that of the units or sub-units, the Assistant ECP Commander is obliged to participate in composing and preparing the instruction program, on the basis of which he will set up his program of activity, thereby securing the realization of the instruction program in the very best conditions.-

5.- In order to secure the good functioning of the entire educational activity, outlined in the frame of the commandments, units and military formations of the army, and in order to guarantee the arrangements of the regulations, decisions, instructions, orders, etc., emanated by the commandments or the General Staff in the most intense democratic spirit, the Assistant ECP Commanders, will actively participate to draw them up.-

6.- In order to promote the worthy and really democratic elements, convinced of the necessity of insoluble ties between the Army and people, and in order to prevent the maintenance and the penetration of undesirable elements in the cadres of the army, the commanders of the units will also ask for the advice of the Assistant ECP Commanders in respect of propositions for promotions, decorations and in respect of dismissals from the army.-

III.

The Relations amongst the Educational, Cultural and Propaganda Organs.

1.- The General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP is the supreme organ of the entire Roumanian Army for educational, cultural and propaganda activities.- All the other ECP organs are subordinated as follows: ECP Directorates of the S.A.U.U., S.S.A., S.S.M., the General Inspection Office of the Rural Police Force, the ECP Administration, Commandments an Territorial Centers, the Instruction Head Office ECP, the Office for Physical Education, are directly subordinated to the General

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Inspection Office of the Army for ECP; ECP Services of the 1st and 4th Army, as well as the corresponding ones of the Air Force and the Navy, are directly subordinated to the respective ECP Directorates; ECP Services at the corresponding Army Corps are directly subordinated to the ECP Services; Schools, Lyceums, Military Colleges, Instruction Centres, as well as ECP Services, Deposits, Workshops, etc., are directly subordinated to the Directorate of the S.A.U.U.; ECP Services of the Divisions, territorial Army and the Navy are subordinated to the ECP Services of the ECP Brigade; Supervision units are directly subordinated to the ECP services of the Pioneers' Inspection Office; ECP Services of the regiments and the corresponding ones of the Air-Force and the Navy, are directly subordinated to the ECP Services of the divisions and the similar ones; Services of the Territorial Centres are directly subordinated to the ECP Services of the respective Territorial Commandment; the ECP Service of the Army Police Commandment of Bucharest, the Regiment of the Mounted Guards, the Battalion of the King's Guards, are directly subordinated to the ECP Directorate of the S.A.U.U.-

Assistant ECP Commanders of the Battalions, Platoons, Companies and the similar ones, are directly subordinated to the ECP Service of the regiment or its corresponding unit.-

2.- The orders, dispositions and programs having a general character, which concern the activities for culture, education and propaganda, emanate exclusively from the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP.-

Subordinated organs are obliged to take measures in order to supervise strictly their fulfilment, development and adaptation to the specific educational necessities of the units, without abating however, the spirit in which they have been conceived.-

3.- All the ECP organs are obliged to prepare and forward reports to the organ immediately superior, on the activities developped on the fulfilment of the orders received, as well as to inform it systematically and continuously on the moral and political state of the respective units.-

Considering the exceptional situation created by the present displacement of the units and the difficulties deri-

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ving from the lack of quick and continous connections which would prevent the normal development of the ECP activities, the ECP services, may - until the issue of new orders - carry on direct correspondence with the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP, having the obligation however, to forward one copy of each correspondence sent to the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP and to their organ immediately superior.-

IV.

The Relations of the ECP Organs with the Population and the Democratic Mass Organizations.

For the maintenance of a high moral, the educational activity developped within the frame of the units is insufficient, because the military units living amidst the population are in a most inherent manner subjected to the influence of the surrounding sphere.-

In order to avoid a destructive influence and in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the maintenance and improvment of the moral and combative spirit of the units, the ECP organs of the units and especially those attached to the Commandments and to the Territorial Centres, have the duty to develop amongst the ranks of the population, an educational activity for its enlightment.-

In order to attain this purpose, the ECP organs will take up relations and will co-operate with all democratic organizations of the masses, sportive and cultural ones, popular atheneums and cultural centres, to whose activities and manifestations may participate all the officers, sub-officers and troops.-

V.

The Duties and Rights of the Assistant ECP Commanders.

Considering the actual position of the General Inspection Office of the Army for the ECP and its sub-ordinated organs with the necessary educational staff and,

Considering the purpose of the creating of the ECP apparatus, and taking into account that it represents a new entity introduced into the cadres of the Roumanian Army, the rights and duties of the Assistant ECP Commanders are sta-

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ted as follows:

1.-The Assistant ECP Commanders have the full right to issue orders, having an educational, cultural and propaganda character, according to the function they hold, which are compulsory for all commanders and subordinated assistant commanders.-

2.-The Assistant ECP Commanders, who have the corresponding rank of the function they hold, are fully entitled to execute all disciplinary rights of the assistant commanders of the respective units.-

3.-The Assistant ECP Commanders, who have not the corresponding rank of the office they hold, are entitled to take all disciplinary measures vis-à-vis all officers and sub-officers inferior in rank, as well as vis-à-vis those who have the like rank as they themselves, but are junior in office.- In respect of those superior in rank, they will report any abatements to his commander or to his senior chief.-

4.-Considering the fact, that the purpose of the educational, cultural and propaganda activities in the army is to form a State having a high moral and combative spirit, and at the same time to educate citizens who are conscious of their social rights and duties, the Assistant ECP Commanders - in order to obtain this purpose - cannot confine themselves to a strict educational activity (that is to hold conferences and discussions, to read lectures from papers and pamphlets,to arrange for the "Lesson of the Soldier",etc.), as the attainment of a high moral spirit depends to a large extent on the treatment and the material conditions which the officers and troops enjoy.-

The ECP organs, the Assistant ECP Commanders and the ECP auxiliaries, are obliged to pay permanent attention to and supervise the officers', sub-officers' and soldiers' receiving punctually and fully, the current material, rights they are entitled to.-

In order to achieve this purpose, they have the personal right and duty, which may also be executed by their sub-ordinated organs, to control all administrative sections of the respective units, stores, kitchens, barracks,armament, sleeping accomodations, etc., and to report to the commander

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all irregularities ascertained, in order to provide for measures abolishing the defects.-

VI.

The Order of the Precedence of Place of the Organs and the Assistant ECP Commanders.

(Parades, Reviews, Inspections, Meetings)

The General Inspector of the Army for ECP, the General Sub-Inspector of the Army for ECP and the ECP directors of the Under-Secretariates of the State take their place at the side of or in the immediate proximity of the War Minister or the respective Undersecretary of State.-

Assistant ECP commanders of the army, army corps and similar formations, take their place behind the commander and on the right hand side of the chief of the general staff, if they are superior or equal in rank with him, or on the left-hand side and on the same line if they are inferior in rank.- At the regiments and similar formations, the assistant ECP commanders, take their place on the right-hand side and on the same line with the assistant commander, if they are superior or equal in rank, and on his left-hand side and on the same line if they are inferior in rank.-

At the battalions, companies, platoons and similar formations, the assistant ECP commanders and the ECP assistants take their place on the left-hand side and on the same line with the commanders.-

At the Rural Police Force (General Inspection Office) the assistant ECP commander walks on the right-hand side of the general inspector of the rural police force, if he is equal or superior in rank, and on his left-hand side, if he is inferior in rank.-

At the Commandment and Territorial Centres, the assistant ECP commanders take their place behind the commander.-

VII.

Supplementary instructions will be issued by the General ECP Inspector of the Army for the technical performances of the ECP organs.-

VIII.

All previous orders and instructions refering to the

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performances of the educational, cultural and propaganda apparatus, are cancelled by the present instruction.-

The entire activities of the organs and the staff of the General Inspection Office of the Army for ECP from the General Inspector of the Army for ECP to the ECP assistant of the platoons, must be guided by the permanent idea that a profound sentiment of devotion be infiltrated in each soldier and officer towards His Majesty the King and the democratic government who represents the real endeavours of the population and the Roumanian Nation.-

Efforts must be made that all elements of the Army develop, intensely and deepen by all means and expressions the sincere friendship btween the Roumanian Nation and the Nations of the U.R.S.S., maintaining the best relations of friend ship with the Red Army and the United Nations.-

The action of redressing the country and of consolidating the democracy, must be likewise supported by all ways and means by all the soldiers.-

The War Minister
General of an Army Corps

(sgnd) C.Vasiliu-Rascanu.-

Communization of the Police and the communization action of our Gendarmerie.

When the Roumanian troops withdrew from Bessarabia and Bukovina, they were followed by the Police and Gendarmerie forces.

After the territory had been occupied some private individuals took the place of the Police Authorities, their installation having been made by themselves.Part of them had been designated by the Allied Commandment. As regards the gendarmerie it was replaced by certain Peasants' Guards, composed of communists.

The cooperation government of November 5, 1944, decided to reintroduce the Government's authority over the entire administration throughout Moldavia.

Up to that date, each of these local authorities was working independently.

Before all, the Government deemed it necessary to send back to those places the respective police and gendarmerie forces to ensure or restore order.

The Police forces sent there by the Ministry of the Interior, had to be selected by an ad-hoc Commission.They were beaten, arrested, disarmed or in the best case were sent back to the place they had come from. Only few of them were accepted by that commission.

Here is a more detailed example:

At Dorohoi, all the Police Commisaries and their assistants as well most of the police agents, were considered by that commission as being undesirable people, nor were those accepted allowed to start work.(See report made by the Under-Secretary of State for Police Nr.21497 dated 1st December 1944).

At Fălticeni, the entire staff, save the Chief of Police, were arrested(ditto).

At Botoşani, the entire State Police arrested (Inspectorate General of Gendarmerie, report Nr.4159 of 22nd November 1944).

At Galatz, the entire staff arrested together with the Regional Police Inspector (Report Nr.48.435 of 30 Nov.1944 of the Inspectorate General of Gendarmerie).

At Jassy, thesituation is still more serious. A group of inhabitants, accompanied by 35-40 Soviet soldiers, disarmed the Policemen afterwards beaten and arrested (31st October 1944).

At Bacău, the Police were disarmed and arrested with the assistance of a few Soviet soldiers and one officer.Commissary Manea arrested and fettered.

At Roman, the Chief of Police had to run away.

At Vaslui, only one assistant-commissary has been accepted.

At Piatra-Neamţ one Chief of Police arrested.

At Rădăutzi the prefect refused to accept the State Police.

After March 6, 1945, the Groza Cabinet put into practice the old communization desideratum. All Police and Security chiefs are arrested.Colonel Magistrate Radu Ionescu is one of the first persons to be arrested, although his activity in favour of democracy has been praised even under Antonescu's dictatorship; as a military magistrate

helped many democrats to escape unpunished.

A few days after this Cabinet came to power nearly 6.000 policemen were dismissed, followed by a few more thousands. The total staff dismissed from Police and Security represents some 65%. A percentage of 90% of the Comissaries and Agents' staff dismissed, their places of these people, arrested and sent to various prisoners' camps, were filled with others but who are entirely communists.

The number of the constables (Street agents) amounted to 10.478 in all the country, minus Bucharest, it being reduced to 6.672, including the newly engaged personnel.

As regards the strength of our gendarmerie it has been reduced to such a proportion that this body can hardly fulfill its mission. Until December 1,1944, the Gendarmerie body had, for the interior zone, a strength of 41.581 men (638 officers, 11.206 non-commissioned officers and 29.737 rank and file), covering a rural territory of 514 sections and 3.351 gendarmes' posts. Huge reductions have since been made. On the 1st December 1944 the strength has been reduced to 30.718 men (618 officers, 12.617 non-commissioned officers and 17.260 rank and file) as a result of the decision of the Allied (Soviet) Controle Commission.

On the occasion of the disarming of the Roumanian interior Army - March 1,1945 - the strength of our Gendarmerie has again been reduced to 14.500 men (508 officers, 7200 non-commissioned officers and 6.792 rank and file), to be again reduced on April 20, 1945, to 12.000 men (425 officers, 6500 N.C.O. and 5.075 rank and file).

On May 7, 1945 a new reduction took place there being left only 11.200 men (400 officers, 6.400 N.C.O. and 4.400 rank and file), although the activity of our Gendarmerie had now been extended to the Northern Transylvania where the Roumanian administration has been introduced.

The number of Gendarmes' Sections has been reduced to 388 and that of the respective Posts to 1.453.

The evident aim is that of according complete freedom to the propagation of communism.

As a result of the communization of the Army, of which we are speaking in another chapter, there has been allotted to the Gendarmerie Corps a number of 927 members of the Education, Culture and Propaganda Body i.e.: 232 officers, 506 non-commissioned officers and 189 privates.

Thus there are 9 communist educators to 100 gendarmes.

That is why the Inspectorate General of the Gendarmery reports (Nr.1.050 of May 25,1945) that this Corps cannot fulfill its mission.

But if the Police has been communized, as regards the Gen - darmerie where we have officers with a fine military education and animated by high sacrifice sentiments towards the country, for the time being we can only say that the action of its communization is going on.

Nr.1050

May 25. 1945

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00083

To the Presidency of Counsil,
To the Ministry of Internal Affairs,
To the War Ministry,
To the Chief of the General Staff,
To the Cabinet.

I have the honour, to report that territorial formations of the rural police force have advised the General Inspection Office of the rural police force, that military, administrative and legal authorities of some of the districts of the country - not being aware of the reduced number of these formations, the mankind they dispose of and the widespread obligations they have to fulfil - complain that in certain situations they do not receive the conscientious and immediate support whenever service require such support.-

In order to realize the difficulties with which the formations of the rural police force are confronted in executing their service, taking into consideration their actual effective forces, with which they have to fulfil all their obligations, I wish to repeat the following:

Up to December 1st 1944, the rural police force, disposed of effective forces totalling 41.581 men (638 officers,11.206 sub-officers and 29.737 troops) in the inland zone, scattered over the rural territory of the country in 514 sections and 3354 police stations.-

Disposing of these effective forces, the territorial formations of the rural police force were able to satisfy the legal attributions in perfect conditions and to render prompt and immediate support whenever the needs of service of the military, administrative and legal authorities required it.-

As of December 1st 1944, the effective forces of the rural police force were reduced - in accordance with the decisions of the Allied Control Commission - to 30.718 men (618 officers, 12.617 sub-officers and 17.260 troops).

According to other decisions of the Allied Control Commission, the effective forces of the rural police force, were newly reduced as of March 1st 1945 from 30.718 men to 14.500 (508 officers, 7200 sub-officers and 6792 troops), being further minimized to 12.000 men as of April 20th 1945 (425 officers,

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6500 sub-officers and 5075 troops) and finally being reduced to 11.200 men as of May 7th 1945.-

All the present time, the rural police force disposed therefore, of 11.200 men (400 officers,6400 sub-officers and 4400 troops) for their territorial formations, the supervising formations, the squads of the Railroad police force and the administration staff.-

In consequence of these successive reduction in the course of less than 6 months, the rural police force was compelled to diminish the number of its sections and police stations from 514 and 3354 respectively, as being in existence prior to December 1st 1944, to 388 sections and 1453 police stations.-

As can be seen, the territorial formations of the rural police force, have minimised their number by 60% with regard to their effective forces.-

Due to this state of facts, one police station,having but 5 men, at the present time, has the duty to supervise and to perform its services at 6-8 parishes, some which are located at a distance of 25-30 km from the residence of the policemen's station.-

With these effective forces and in charge of a zone, supervised prior to December 1st 1944 by 4-6 police stations, to-day's police station has - in accordance with the laws and rules in force - to fulfil the following obligations:

1) To act as informative, security and legal police force;
2) to take measures for the supervision of the lives, physical integrity and the property of the citizens;
3) to deliver the conscription orders;
4) to pursue and capture the deserters;
5) to act as traffic police force;
6) to support the authorities when making requisitions;
7) to support the representatives of the Allied Control Commission.-
8) to fulfil the function as chief of the police squad, etc.-

In addition to the execution of these obligations, the police squads must be more vigilant than ever before, as the number of pillages, robberies and crimes has recently increased, the attempts of escaping enrollment have become very

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customarily on the entire rural territory of the country and the number of deserters increased remarkably.-

In fact, the categorical insufficiency of the police squads in the rural territory has aggravated the service of the policemen to the extenuation of the staff they dispose of, and has, on the other hand, caused an increase of the number of infringements of all kinds, amongst which the most important ones are: crimes, pillaging, destructing and or robbing the telephonic and telegraphic wires.-

The action of pursuing the deserters - these are indications that these acts of violation grow more and more - likewise, cannot entirely succed owing to the insufficiency of the police squads.-

In order to demonstrate the efforts that have to be made by the police squads, only in pursuing and capturing those who are attempting to escape to enrollment and the deserters, I wish to mention that the number of those arrested in the course of the month of April 1945, by the raids of but one police station (police station of Dragalina of the police sedium of Tutova) amounted to 400.-

The local military, administrative and legal authorities, which are not aware of the facts outlined above, are of the opinion that the delay in executing some orders, by a few police stations, is due to carelessness or bad will.-

If there was to be observed in a few cases, any delay in the execution of certain orders, this is exclusively due to the facts that the problems of order and public security, mentioned above, have recently increased suprizingly and in particular to the small number of policemen of each policestation, who have to execute their services and attributions in an extremely large territory.-

In spite of all difficulties that must be encountered, and in spite of the reduction of its effective forces and its formations, the rural police force makes it a point of honour, to work with the same eagerness and love, as heretofore for the nation's welfare and prosperity.-

General Inspector of the Rural
Police Force

(sgnd) General C. Anton

POLICE GENERAL DEPARTMENT

Denomination of the function:	23.VIII.944:	Left at 1.X.945:	New Personnel:
Police officers	2.095	1.000	450
Detective agents	1.922	900	400
Office personnel	2.500	800	100
Public guards	10.478	3.500	300
Total=	16.995.-	6.200.-	1.250.-
		(7.450.-)	

HEAD OFFICE OF THE POLICE OF THE CAPITAL

Denomination of the function:	23.VII.944	Left from the former ones:	New Personnel:
Police officers		Cca. 50	550.-
Detective agents		50	350.-
Administrative personnel		1.730	370.-
Public guards	2.000.-	1.700	300.-
Total =		1.830.-	1.570.-

There is to be observed that the number of those who were actually nominated, is infinitely greater to the number of the former ones, without fulfilling the legal conditions required for the high positions of their functions, viz: superintendent of police upwards.- Very few public guards are to be mentioned.-

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N O T E I

Cr.Nr:	K i n d:	Year 1941:	Year 1942:	Year 1943:	Year 1944: August 23	Year 1945:
1.-	Officers	698	725	702	-	470.-
2.-	Sub-Officers	9960	10951	11450	-	9320.-
3.-	Troop	28364	34518	44683	-	4265.-

SUPPRESSION OF THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY'S RIGHT OF ASSEMBLING AND THE TERRORIZATION OF ITS MEMBERS

The "Free and Democratic Roumanian" Government - Mr Petru Groza's sinister paradox - outlawed the National Peasant Party.

After the National Peasant Party's press, both in Bucharest and in the country, had been wholly suppressed, a wild hunt was set afoot after all National Peasant Party members who tried to stir. Through such harsh measures as arrests, the searching of houses, the confinement to concentration camps, the requisition of the National Peasant Party's premises, and other just such illegal means, both injurious to individual liberty and the right of assembling, have, in fact, hindered any possibility of gathering together of our political friends even for the purpose of pure deliberation.

On the 15th June 1945 police officials forcibly entered Mr Iuliu Maniu's house in str. Sfinţilor No.10 while he was absent and broke open the writing-descks and cupboards and stole all the acts and correspondence therefrom.

The deed was reported to the police and the Prime Minister was personally made acquainted with it, but no answer has as yet been received.

During the night of the 29th towards the 30th June, police officials and other persons accompanying them entered the premises of the Central Seat of the National Peasant Party, broke open the bookcases, desks and cupboards, carrying off with them the entire archive, and arresting all those found in the building together with Mr N. Balşanu, secretary of the club.

They stationed sentinels at the doors and frobade all access to the place until the 1st July at 10:00 a.m.

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On the 24th July 1945 the two secretaries of our Party, Miss Tamara Darie and Miss Stella Rosca were arrested, and on the 27th July, Inspector of Police Nicolae Stanescu took away the typewriters belonging to the Party's Central Seat leavin in their place a brief.

Miss Darie and Miss Rosca were confined to cells at the Police HQ for 40 days until August 30th when they were set free.

A part of the archive was returned to us, but some of the files had been kept by the Police HQ as shown by the brief drawn up on the occasion.

Another such descent was made at the National Peasant Party's club in the 3rd Bucharest district, where, in like manner, the archive and documents found there were carried off on the 30th June 1945.

On the same day, for no reason whatsoever, perquisitions were made at the homes of the following well-known members of the Party : Cesar Simionescu, Corneliu Coposu, Dr Lucian Stanculescu. The first two were conducted to the Police HQ and eliberated after a few hours.

All members of the committee for the organising and the conducting of our party in the 9th district in Bucharest were arrested, Messrs N. Ungureanu, Voda, Cucu and Ion Dumitrescu heading the list.

On 29th June inst. Messrs Victor Isac, Covu Anton, Zamfir Teodorescu and Coman Lac, members of our party were, without any serious reason, arrested and eliberated 15 days later.

The National Peasant Party's organisation in the 11th district of Bucharest was holding a friendly gathering in the home of Mr N. Udrea in Calea Mosilor at the corner of Calomfirescu Street. The police entered and arrested Messrs Ghita Pop, former National

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Peasant minister in the Sanatescu government and our party's representative in the Roumanian Commission which discussed and signed the Armistice at Moscow, Radu Cioculescu, Engineer O.Moss, Lawyer D. Solomonescu, I. Ionescu, St. Ion, Cezar Ilarie, G.Bandi, professor, G. Eftimescu. Two hours later all were set free. Their object, however, that of preventing any exchange of information or advice among friends, had been attained.

Mrs Ella Schildkraut, vice-president of the party's Women's Organisation in the capital was arrested on 30th August inst.

Mr Nicolae Dicu, head of the Balta Alba organisation was arrested on 27th July and released after 6 days' confinement at the Police HQ.

Mr Al Dicu was arrested on the same day and released the day after.

Mr N. Carandino, chief editor of the National Peasant Party's official newspaper "Dreptatea", former general manager of the theatres, and general manager of the National Theatre in Bucharest, was arrested on August 5th, confined to a cell at the Police HQ and released on August 22nd inst.

On September 15th, inst., Mr Gogu Radulescu of strada Fantanelor 27, a member of our party was arrested. The Police HQ assert that he made his escape after 15 days' confinement. The only thing certain is that since thence nothing is known of him.

A series of other arrestations and perquisitions follow : Adica Herisescu arrested 24-25th August; Vasile Mistor arrested 24-30th August; Marin Teodorescu arrested 25-27th August; A.Motoc arrested 22-26th September; E.Erik Frimu arrested and perquisitioned several times; Chris. Georgescu arrested 21st September; Ion Isaila arrested 24-28th August; Virgil Popa, G. Popa, Ion Georgescu arrested 24-28th August; Georgescu Livius arrested and perquisitioned the 22nd September..//..

The only fault of all the above mentioned is that of being members of the National Peasant Party.

Mr Danila Pop, secretary of the committee for Transylvania, was arrested and afterwards conveyed to the concentration camp at Slobozia, wher he still is, on the ground of his having had the intention of publishing a National Peasant leaflet.

The list of the arrested has no end. The buildings at 6, strada Clémenceau, centre of the National Peasant Party's organisation for the Ilfov district, were requisitioned for the Soviet army, without allowing us to take anything either from the furniture or from the archive.

While our buildings are being requisitioned, the police are requisitioning private houses to give them over to the parties forming part of the National Democratic Front, although the law, even that passed by the Petru Groza Government, forbids requisitioning in favour of political parties.

Today the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Ploughmen's Front, the Patriotic Union, the Patriotic Defence, and other National Democratic Front organisations have profited by this abusive requisitioning to obtain over 300 buildings.

In the provinces the terror is even greater still. On the 23rd August 1945 a group of 18 young members of our party were arrested at Rosiorii de Vede for having organised a Kermess. They were taken to Turnu Magurele, the capital of the district, and when Mr Tuliu Panait, head of our local organisation there, intervened he also was arrested. They were taken to Bucharest and shut in for 10 days at the Police HQ, after which they were assigned house-arrest.

During this time hundreds of members of our party throughout the country of Teleorman were searched. Mr Neata, a teacher and memebr of our party, speaking at Orbeasca in the Teleorman district, was arrested, sent to the Court Martial and set free after 12 days.

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The National Peasant organisation of Barlad called for a meeting in September 1945. The police arrested Mr G. Nichifor, president of our organisation there, whom they kept for 2 hours, thus preventing the meeting arranged.

Mr Aurel Leucutia, former National Peasant minister in the government from November 5th 1944 until March 6th 1945, and Mr Sever Bocu, a former National Peasant minister, were arrested at Timisoara on May 9th while at a meeting.

The police authorities have been instructed that any person attending a National Peasant meeting should be brought to the police station, questioned for any reason whatsoever and in the best case, threatened with a view to intimidation. Such cases are so numerous all over the country that it is impossible to mention them individually.

At Ploesti, on the evening of 17th August inst., five youths began to shout "Long live Iuliu Maniu" in the street. This immediately resulted in a popular demonstration towards the president of our party. The youths were arrested and then set free after a week. A few days before this a youth named Basarab Belinoschi was arrested also at Ploesti during the night of 11th August for having shouted "Long live Iuliu Maniu" at a kermess. Another youth, Petre Hodemniac on August 15th was arrested for the same reason by 2nd Lt Aurel Pantazi, a member of the Tudor Vladimirescu Division, being threatened with the revolver.

Terror and ill-treatment are used not only to intimidate, but with much more serious aims.

Mr Vasile Russu, a gardener in the village Satul Nou de Jos, Satu Mare district, received a proposal to inscribe himself in the Ploughmen's Front Party. On refusing to do so, he was at once arrested. The condition of his release was that he should obtain 50 members for the Ploughmen's Front, but in the whole village only

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2 persons inscribed themselves and these did so out of pity for the arrested. Having forced a membership card for the Ploughmen's Front Party on him, he was released but very shortly afterwards Mr Vasile Russu was again twice arrested.

For having refused to inscribe himself in the party, he was fettered and thrown into prison. Some Soviet soldiers intervened that his fetters should be struck off, after which he made his escape.

A frequent system used is, that,on the occasion of perquisitions, provocativeagents introduce subversive pamphlets which they afterwards swear they had found in the home of the person being searched. Just such a proceeding did Mr Tatarescu use, when he put down the Tatar-Bunar rebellion by shedding blood.

On the evening of August 31st inst., about 20 persons were gathered together at the National Peasant Party's hall in Craiova when the police appeared to search the building. Police officer Miticov was taken by surpise by a friend of ours, when he wanted to throw a parcel of pamphlets under the desk.

Inspector of Police Ionescu declared all persons present to be under arrest, but on their protesting against such, and at their demand, the Chief Prosecutor appeared and inquiring into the affair realised what had taken place and released all those arrested.

The Minister of Justice rewarded this legal manner of proceeding by dismissing the magistrate from his function.

A meeting of our friends took place on August 5th in our club at Galaţi. While it was going forward, a band of from 70 to 80 communists entered the hall causing an infernal row and commotion, throwing out all kind of insults and threats. They arrested 7 persons among whom was Mr P. Vartosu, president of our local organisation.

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And here are a few recent facts.

The government thinking that on the 24th October 1945, the National Peasant Party were arranging a demonstration of loyalty towards their sovereign, y thing considered as infamous in communist ideas, ordered the arrest of all our friends whom they thought capable of organising it. Thus the following persons were arrested: Mr Cesar Siminocescu, president of the 2nd Bucharest district; Mr I. Marinache, lawyer, idem 4th district; Dr Riconte idem 4th district; Mr Giengoli, idem 8th district; Osias Melic, idem 12th district; Coman Lac, idem 13th district; Andrei Motoc, idem 14th district; Ionescu Cotroceni, idem 19th district; Priest Lazar Nicolaescu, idem 25th district; I. Popescu, idem 36th district; Dionisie Cupes, idem 18th district; Birjan Oprea, idem 19th district; C. Mihaescu, vice-president 5th district; Tudor Coman, idem 9th district; Muster, idem 18th district; Marin Roman, idem 9th district; M. Rosianu, idem 32nd district; Priest Pivnicescum, idem 33rd district; as well as Nae Popescu, Gavrila Balrovan, I. Crețu, V. Vasilescu, Tr. Radovan, A. Ursu and I. Ița.

This list would have been much longer if some of our friends did not hide in time.

Those arrested were set free within 24 hours.

On Sunday October 28th 1945, the 3rd Bucharest district organisation of our party demanded and obtained from the Ministry of the Interior the authorisation to hold a meeting at the "Milano" Cinema. But the meeting could not take plce since the police, under a ridicule pretext, closed the place for 3 days and menaced its owner who, as we are informed, disappeared.

Besides this, the Police has effected about 100 arrestations among the persons who were there to attend the meeting and we want to point out that among the arrested were several ladies, Messrs H oria Juguianu, Ion Droveanu and others.

We enclose a photograph of above mentioned attack carried out

by the police and communist guards.

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Prefecture of Dâmbiviţa District
Prefect's Office
Nr.13.860
11th August 1945

To the Pretor (County Administrativa Chief),

The meetings of the parties that do not participate in the Cabinet are prohibited.

Steps will be taken against those who will diregard this order, they shall even be arrested.

Chief of Cabinet
(Prefect's private Secretary)
ss Bănulescu

To the
Mayories in this County

In compliance with the Prefect's order Nr.13.800 you are informed that the meetimgs of the Parties that do not participate in the Cabinet are wholly prohibited.

Steps shall be taken against those who will break this order, the leaders and those who take such initiatives shall even be arrested.

Pretor
(Chief of the County)
ss Constantinescu

Bilciureşti County
District of Dâmboviţa.

Commission for the
allotment of paper
Nr.2817/945

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To the Paper Bureau,
Matei Millo street 10,
City

We have the honour to send you herewith the list of the quotas of paper allotted to the newspapers and periodicals for the week between 2 - 7 October inclusive.

The paper removed from the Buşteni paper-mill shall be delivered daily, whilst in the case of Letea, totally.

Name of the newspaper	Weekly quota	
Scânteia (the Spark)	132	paper rolls
România Liberă (Free Roumania)	90	,,
Timpul (The Time)	54	,,
Fapta (The Fact)	12	,,
Semnalul (The Signal)	30	,,
Libertatea (The Liberty)	48	,,
Ardealul	24	,,
Era Nouă (New Era)	9	,,
Universul	90	,,
Jurnalul de dimineaţă(Morning Paper)	48	,,
Frontul Plugarilor(Ploughmen's Front)	36	,,
Ultima Oră . ...(Last Hour)	24	,,
Victoria	35	,,
Argus	3	,,
Drapelul(The Flag)	30	,,
Momentul	30	,,
Gazeta Sporturilor	6	,,
Dreptatea nouă (New Justice).. ...	18	,,
Sportul Popular	16	,,
Viaţa Sindicală (Syndic.Life). ...	40	,,
Tinereţea (The Youth)...	7	,,
Communist Party...	5	,,
Social Democrat Party..	4	,,
National Peasant Party..	2	,,
National Liberal Party..	2	,,
U.P. (Patriotic Union)..	3	,,
Vestea Nouă (Latest news)	5	,,
Femeia şi Căminul (Woman and Home)..	2	,,
Mântuirea ((Redemption).	1	,,
Humorul (Humour)..	3	,,
Universul Reviste(magazines).. ...	6	,,
Jewish Life	-	
Albina (The Bee)..	4	,,
Papagalul (The Parrot)..	-	
Neamul Evreesc(Jewish Nation). ...	1	,,
Municipal Gazette.	-	
Spectator	1	,,
Scena (The Scene).	1	,,
Bis	1	,,
Timpul familiei(Family Time).. ...	-	
Teatru şi Sport...	-	
Mercurialul (Market Price Bulletin).	2	,,
Cortina (The Curtain)...	-	
Lumea (The World)1945...	20	,,
Banatul	6	,,
Democraţia	-	
Min.Propagandei...	15	,,
Finanţe şi Industrie(Finance and Industry)	1	,,
Rudescu	3	,,

The transportation charges shall be borne by each newspaper separately, whilst the rotative paper loaded in trucks which reached the "Tudor Vladimirescu" dépôt at present unloaded or in its way to Bucharest shall be blocked at the Paper Bureau for future allotments.

Any quantity of paper already allotted but not yet removed from the 12th of September and upt to this date, as well the paper allotted for the week ending 30th September, may be removed at the time the present allotment is removed.

Chairman
ss Gh. Stancu

Secretary
ss F. Brudea.

Published in the "VICTORIA"

Fragments extracted from the article under the title: " Three important speeches "

- Mr. Teohari about the agitations of the reactionaries:

" We answer to the reactionaries in the name of the Communistic Party, in the name of the democratical formations and in the name of the Government, that there will be no freedom any more in the Rumanian country for the bandits.

Freedom is a good belonging to the people, the bandits, the recationaries, the fascists, the legionaries cannot enjoy liberty."

" All the elements who have sinned in the past, but are working to-day honestly must cancel the past and look forward to the future. But if they will betray again, they will receive their punishment."

" We told it and we are repeating it: the former legionaries must not be excluded from the people's community, if they understand to-day that they have been betrayed and that they had walked on a wrong path, profoundly disadvantageous to the country, putting thus their forces sincerely and modestly in the service of the democracy."

" The action of cleaning and of democratisation of the State apparatus must be continued. There are still legionaries who are disguised in the clothes of Maniu and Bratianu and who are trying to continue their crimes. As for these ones we are all obliged to discover them and to destroy them without pity."

Mrs. Anna Pauker's Speech published in the "Scânteia" August 16-th 1945, kept at the Conference of the P C R in Bucharest.

" Comrades, many of the delegates at the Conference, who are representing the Enterprises as Malaxa, S T B, U C B, Gas and Electricity and other ones, could convince themselves that by a good reflected policy from our part, we could bring to a productive democratical work, an important number of the former Legionaries.

The experience shows us that with vigilance and in the same time a confidence in the righteousness of our policy, we can convince and attrackt in our work, elements of the former Legionaries, who found out that they have been deceived. This work of conviction, of redressment, in order to attrackt the former deceived legionaries elements must be continued. And in the work of discovery of the fiendish elements, these people who have to take revenge of those who have betrayed them long ago can bring an important support to us.

" Comrades and delegates,

The national-peasants, the legionaries and the liberals of Maniu and Bratianu are lamenting themselves that they are not enjoying liberty. They need the liberty in order to undermine the work of economical redressment of the country, the liberty to try to bring the nation to starvation and misery and to murder vilely.

The noble task of the Government of Petru Groza is the one to protect us against the reactionary gangs and to consolidate the liberty of work, of economical reconstruction, to redress the cultural level, to improve the life, to live in peace with the neighbouring countries and with the other democratical countries, to protect the real liberty of the whole people. (Prolongued applauses)

" That what the Rumanian workman has always wished, was the liberty. From the material point of view, the workman has to face many difficulties. But this great conquest, this first great conquest: the liberty, gives him a power of will and of work, which has never been in the Rumanian country."

The first workmen-club has been reopened.

To-day the reaction pretends that there is no liberty. But the Government considers that it would make a crime against people by giving liberty to those who are continuously working against the interests of the people.

The Government understands to give liberty to the people, but not to some gangs, who are the ennemies of the real democracy. Their methods of terror by which they were preparing the assault against democracy proved that the reactionaries are in their last death struggle.

Fragments of an article extracted from the "ARDEALUL", Sunday, 22nd April, 1945.

" Problems which are the object of preocupation for the Ministry of Interior.

" The fact that some persons have been in the legionary-movement for years ago, forms no object of taking measures against them for the Ministry of Interior, if they proved that they had nothing common with this movement during the last years and especially after the 22nd August 1944, movement which was foreign to the interests of our people and treacherous against the country. "

" I repeat that those who have been betrayed by the false propaganda of the legionaries and who found out in the meantime that they have nothing to do with this movement. "

<u>Fragment of an article published in the "Scânteia".</u>

" For the reactionaries there is no liberty in Rumania.

" The reactionaries of the historical parties guided by Maniu and Bratianu are speaking of free elections. But who are those who are speaking of free elections ? "

" For the fascists, hitlerists and reactionaries there is no liberty in Rumania."

TERROR AND ABUSES

Mr Lucretiu Patrascanu, communist Minister of Justice, has written a book on the three dictatorships: that of King Carol II, the legionary dictatorship and that of Antonescu. The communist dictatorship does not exist for Mr Patrascanu, but public opinion feels it much stronger than the others, since never were terror and abuses more made use of.

The trial of the organisations "Tinerimea Romana" and "T" brought forward the inquisitorial proceedings used by the Communist police. A number of 33 young men were tried being accused of plotting against the country's safety with the knowledge of the Americans and the British, (!) and of organising the murder of the members of the Government.

The facts came under provisions of Law No.236 of February the 6th 1941 "for sanctioning of acts which imperil the existence and the interests of the country", drawn up under the Antonescu régime for the protection of his dictatorship.

Who ever would have thought that the régime after August the 23rd 1944 would apply this law which, in fact, was abolished in September 1944, after the re-introduction of the Constitution !? Thus, a law meant to protect a dictatorship serves to sustain another. No commentary is needed.

The inquest of the young intellectuals implicated in the above mentioned trial lasted for six weeks at the State Police and the most terrific methods of tortures were applied to them, among which blows were perhaps the mildest. Young women were violated after having been outrageously ill-treated. (The case of Miss A.G.)

The accused were forced by these means to admit everything

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they were asked to admit. Before the trial, some of them were removed from the military prison in order to be submitted to new tortures applied by the police inquisitors and they were menaced w ith death should they disclose to the Bench what they had undergone or should they retract what they had been forced to admit by torture.

The Court refused to admit a medical examination with a judiciary character, although the marks left by the blows and tortures suffered by the arrested were evident. But, fortunately, the session was attended by American and British newspapermen who have heard and seen everything.

Twice the composition of the Court was modified before attaining a Court wholly submissive to the orders of the government. The president of the Court, a general, was replaced by Col. Petrescu, former director general of prisons under the Antonescu régime. By means of the sentence which Col. Petrescu is to pronounce against the accused, Col. Petrescu, who himself had been submitted to an inquiry by the People's Tribunal, will thus rehabilitate himself towards the Communists for the régime he had applied to them in Antonescu's prisons.

An officer belonging to the "Tudor Vladimirescu Division" - formed in U.S.S.R, with Roumanian prisoners - was appointed to complete the Court.

Magistrate Col. Gicoveanu, who refused to participate in this Court, was arrested in the very building of the Court Martial, sent before the People's Tribunal and set free seven days later.

The sanctions varied from 1-6 months of imprisonment, with the exception of three persons to whom a more severe punishment was given; others were discharged. So these were the sanctions for such serious charges brought against the accused !!

The Communist Minister of Justice found nothing to say with regard to this trial other than that he strongly blames the 72 lawyers who defended the accused. (Speech held on September the 16th, 1945, at the opening of the judiciary year).

Nevertheless, a short time before, the People's Tribunal had severely condemned the policemen - headed by Inspector Iagolnita - who during the previous dictatorship had maltreated the Communists.

A great number of persons are removed by the police and disappear without leaving any trace. General G. Marinescu, commander of anti-air artillery, was arrested because, on the occasion of the parade on August 23rd 1945, he expressed his opinion that the army should not participate when H.M. the King does not attend the parade. Since his removal, nobody knows anything about him.

In Constanta a naval commander was murdered. The military attorney stated that the assassins were communists. He was shot in the street in broad daylight. The Chief of the Military Court started proceddings, but on finding out that the murderers were communist policemen, he was immediately removed.

Terror and abuses are current; the examples furnished are only some more striking.

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The Prisoners' Camps

The Cabinet appointed on 23rd August 1945 have, on their very first day of activity, supressed the Prisoners' Camps and granted a wide amnesty. It had then been deemed that Prisoners' Camps do not agree at all with a democratic régime.

Mr.Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, a communist leader had stated that he would enter the Cabinet on condition that he be appointed the ad-interim Minister of Justice, as he was desirous of connecting his name with the above two steps.

These camps which here were peopled mostly by legionnaires have been supressed by the Minister of Justice, who was a communist, and who greatly honoured himself through signing the report and the respective decree-law.

The Armistice Convention has onthe other hand compelled us to take asseries of steps a gainst the Hitlerists and the Fascists, and even without referring to that Convention the Cabinets between August 23 1944 and March 6,1945,have deemed it was necessary, in order not to have any disagreeable surprises,to imprison in these camps the well-known legionnaires.

General Rădescu's Cabinet have enforced a law, Nr.18 of 11th January 1945,according to which the legionnaires who were supposed to be placed under provisional custody, were to be examined by a commission composed of delegates of the political parties, with a view to avoiding any revenge, a law which even Petre Groza's Cabinet have enforced against the true democrats.

After march 6,1945, the Communist Government have imprisoned many people more especially two categories of men.We find in these camps a series of legionnaires to compel them to become communists, which was a success as we have already said in the chapters regarding the legionnaires.

We also find very many members of the National Peasants' Party.These prisoners do not even know why they are imprisoned, probably because they belong to this Party.

In other cases imaginary charges.

If you happen to have a National Peasant Party manifesto they will send you to the camps.

At the Caracal camp there were some 1800 prisoners until recently.When they were released they became members in the communist Party with all its branches such as Patriotic Defence(Apărarea Patriotică),Patriots' Union (Uniunea Patriotilor), Ploughmen's Front(Frontul Plugarilor. In the Slobozia Camp there were 1.100 prisoners.

The National Peasants have never negotiated their convinctions, and they continued to be kept in the camp.

There are now in these Camps:Germans, communists punished by their own Party,infringers of the law,dismissed employees, labourers that have fought against communist committees in the trades unions, rogues and so on.

In October 1945 the Government has made an official statement

to the effect that these camps would be supressed. Yet they are still in existence.

These Prisoners' Camps are the ex camps created by the Germans for the Russian prisoners of war. We think we need not insist any longer on them and everyone can have an idea of the miserable conditions therein.

The food there cannot be eaten. Only 600 calories a day, 200 grams of bread a day, no meat, except when the Commander's swine are ill or when a horse dies accidentally.

Medical assistance does not exist. Exanthematic typhus, consumption, diphteria commit ravages.

You can find there men belonging to all social categories: physicians, lawyers, engineers, university professors, peasants, labourers, merchants, both men and women.

Most of them have previously suffered in the cells of the Police.

Tortures, brandings, thrashing till the teeth fall from the mouth(the case of a labourer C.Alexandrescu), men left unconscious, these are the methods used against the vivtims of the "first democratic government" as the present Government likes to call itself.

In those camps they also begin a "re-education" action, but it is far from being like that used by the American and British Authorities in Germany. "Re-education" in the camps of Mr.Teohari Georgescu, Communist Minister of the Interior, means a chantage to compel people to become communists.

In many cases this chantage gave satisfactory results.

The prisoners are not allowed to get in touch with memebers of their families.

On August 23, 1945, these prisoners wanted to send to H.M.The King a telegram of respectful hommages. The Camp Commandant did not despatch it. Among those who signed the telegram there were many who contributed a great deal for Roumania's exit from the war against the United Nations.

L I S T

of the prisoners at the Caracal camp who signed the telegram addressed to His Majesty The King MIHAI I on the occasion of His fifth year of reign.

HUT Nr.5

Name and christian name

1 Seetnagan Maria
2 Elena Colonel Stoenescu
3 Dorina Argaşiu
4 Elena Panu
5 Maria Stan
6 Petruţ I.Vasilica
7 Rădulescu Pompilia
8 Heiser Iulia
9 Valeria Ivănescu
10 Maria Crăcium
11 Dora Alesi
12 Hainarone Afrodita
13 Maria Codreanu
14 Elena Olteanu
15 Martha Engelleiter
16 Ilse Fabini
17 Gaal Irina
18 Knochner Luise
19 Muller Maria
20 Lisco Wilhelmine
21 Ida Bennino
22 Persida Stoicănescu
23 Ardeleanu Maria
24 Ioana Mergler
25 Cudinev Rachila
26 M.Crinescu
27 Mariţa Caranica
28 Muntean Elena
29 Iridenta I.Moţa
30 Lucia Pavanici
31 Ortansa Călinescu
32 Iulia Târnoveanu
33 Limbăşan Maria
34 Gherman Dehita
35 Lora Gisela
36 Emilia Lazăr
37 Rosina König
38 Luise Vaitler
39 Enkelganof Ida
40 Rupturеanu Olimpia
41 Dr.Filomela Preda
42 BreitHofer Emmy
43 Iulie Mayer
44 Lugojan Elisabeta
45 Angela Bădescu
46 Mantu Ecaterina

HUT Nr.9

Name and christian name

1 Guran Radu
2 Boca Ion
3 Marcu I.
4 Pană Stoian
5 M.Gorcea
6 Soceanu St.
7 Hodiş I.
8 Take Dobrescu
9 Buzdugan End.
10 Groza I.
11 Cotlarciuc C.
12 Sandru Stefan
13 Pătruleasa I.
14 Dr.Cudercă T.
15 Alduleа G.
16 Popescu A.
17 Paşcaniuc G.
18 Popescu G.
19 Teodorescu E.
20 Mesaroş Fl.
21 Brana A.
22 Cervinski V.
23 Maniu V.
24 Săghiuţă G.
25 Pica T.
26 Hluşcu E.
27 Faltin St.
28 Niţă C.
29 Todoran A.
30 Murgulescu G.
31 Trască V.
32 Erhan S.
33 Muller F.
34 Hluşcu A.
35 Fotă V.
36 Tutuianu V.
37 Tilici V.
38 Martincek A.
39 Rusu R.
40 Dimitriu M.
41 Roşca A.
42 Radmaher V.
43 Coroană N.
44 Mateiaş I.
45 Costea G.
46 Surtu P.
47 Ohler N.
48 Crustulitz O.
49 Petrişor P.

LIST

of the political prisoners in the Caracal camp, who have signed the telegram sent to His Majesty the King MIHAI I, on his 5th year of reign

HUT Nr.14

Name and christian name	Name and christian name
1 Manolescu Radu	24 Pop Eugen
2 Buşneag C-tin	25 Dippon Gh.
3 Arnăutu Ion	26 Ioan Nic.
4 Borciu Ion	27 Bărbulescu V.
5 Dumitrescu I.	28 Ianculovici Gh.
6 Balteş N.	29 Oprişa N.
7 Maior I.Baciu	30 Gh.Ungioiu
8 Tănăsescu M.	31 R.Indrieşu
9 Popovici D.	32 C.Racoviţă
10 Teodorescu Al.	33 Nic.Dinu
11 Titeu P.	34 Nic.Runcanu
12 Gâuşcă Elisei	35 Schuleri Oscar
13 Zaharia Simion	36 Triţoiu Al.
14 Gh.Ene	37 Ion Claudiu Luca
15 E.Galâc	38 Preot Iaroy Martin
16 Arnăutu Aurel	39 Cazan Radu
17 I.Blebea	40 Herban S.
18 Fovacescu P.	41 Gâţ Sabin
19 Gh.Vasile	42 Carol Strumpf
20 Cpt.Graeser Alf.	43 Toma Aurel
21 Al.Rizescu	44 Tipău
22 B.Braşoveanu	45 Henţea I.
23 Brânzei Ion	45 Comănac Titu
	47 Marinescu Al.

HUT Nr.12

1 Niculescu Barbu	10 Nan Ion
2 Bucuţa Em. Emanoil	11 Gavrilă Dumitru
3 Răduleanu D.	12 Stoian Victor
4 Tokacs Iosif	13 Dobre Ion
5 Fătu Octavian	14 Alexandrescu Mihail
6 Lupaşcu Ion	15 Ardeleanu Bujor
7 Trifu Ion	16 Drogan Ion
8 CoşuleţD.	17 D.I.Apostol
9 Banciu Dumitru	

HUT Nr.24

1 Hang Matei	15 Ciobanu D
2 Dobrescu Radu	16 Roman I
3 Ludoşan Ion	17 Stan Ion
4 Bucium Petre	18 Stoian Gh
5 Cotinghiu Ion	19 Plischi Petre
6 Tunescu Stelian	20 Mirea N.
7 Rotaru N.	21 Pomârleanu M.
8 Roman Savel	22 Nicolau Gh.
9 Papuc Gh.	23 Pop Ilie
10 Nasin Gh.	24 Popdu Ion
11 Diaconu Florea	25 Parţcahe Vasile
12 Cristea Marin	26 Spătăceanu Ion
13 Mărculescu Gh.	27 Moldoveanu M.
14 Costrei Pantelimon	28 Munteanu Ludovic.

L I S T

of the political prisoners in the Caracal Camp who have signed the wire addressed to His Majesty King MIHAI I, on the occasion of His 5th year of reign.

HUT Nr.20

Name and christian name

1 Mazilu Bică
2 Gheorghievici Al.
3 Lupu Apostol
4 Brădescu Ilie
5 Mitrău Aurelian
6 Stănescu I N
7 Vişin Gh
8 Rott Vasile
9 Marinescu Pavel
10 Ionescu Mihail
11 Bolaci Matei
12 Teodosiu Stefan
13 Kovaci Edmund
14 Palfi Iosif
15 Kovaci Zoltan
16 Agen S
17 Andrei Marin
18 Buzoianu R
19 Coman Nedelcu
20 Damschin St
21 Dobrilă Victor
22 Iliescu Ion
23 Iliescu Jean
24 Ionescu Traian
25 Muşat Vasile
26 Robitu Ionel
27 Vlăsceanu Cezar
28 Voinescu Iosif
29 Mihai Alex.

Name and christian name

30 Dăscălescu Al
31 Stina Aureliu
32 Kreculing Anton
33 Hubert Matei
34 Schertter Otto
35 Müller Heinrich
36 Schulhof Aladar
37 Andronescu P.
38 Dons Gh
39 Crauciuc D
40 Hanţ Pavel
41 Manolea Vlad
42 Roşca Petre
43 Ilca Iuliu
44 Epure Pavel
45 Bozgan Teodor
46 Mândru Iosif
47 Jucovschi I
48 Tâmpa I
49 Georgescu Cristin
50 Neagu D
51 Constantinescu E
52 Tita D
53 Stefănescu Ilie
54 Pădureanu Andrei
55 Munteanu M
56 Maniţiu C

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HUT Nr.21

1 Dr.Păiş
2 F.Ciupală
3 Petre N.Petre
4 C.Stefănescu
5 George Nicolau
6 C.Gâju
7 Paul Lazăr
8 Păun Rotaru
9 Fl.M.Deliu
10 Vlad Roth
11 Marin D
12 M.Tolea
13 C.Ion
14 S.Cristescu
15 C.Matei
16 C.Ropală
17 Dorin Oprevici
18 S.Cincheza
19 D.Cudla
20 Paul O Popescu
21 I.Cernoschi
22 Ionescu I
23 Botnică N F
24 Popa Ilie
25 Grăjdănescu C
26 Tr Ionescu
27 Călinescu M
28 Mircea Stefănescu
29 Al Roşca
30 Ilariu Petculescu
31 C.P.Metea
32 I Predescu
33 Voicu D.
34 Andrei Ionescu
35 N.Grezi
36 Tărâţă Nicolae
37 C.Oligică
38 I R Stefănescu
39 Ion Voicu
40 Mihail Ionescu
41 Tr Lucasievici
42 Gh Negru
43 C F Ganea
44 D Segărceanu
45 S Brănaru
46 Ilie Porumbă

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HUT Nr.25

1 Ing.Stănescu
2 Gh Caftangioglu
3 Gh Catună
4 Grudeanu Cornel
5 N Varabie
6 N Georgescu
7 Ing Protopopescu
8 Valeriu Curcă
9 N Fudulu
10 Eugen Pop
11 Edinski Edmond
12 C Nacu
13 Al Jalbă

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LIST

of political prisoners at the Caracal camp who have signed a telegram addressed to His Majesty King MIHAI I on the occasion of His fifth year of reign.

HUT Nr.22

Name and christian name	Name and christian name
1 Ionescu Vasile	15 Marinciu C
2 Mihai Gh	16 Georgescu Eug
3 Cernăzeanu I	17 Petrică Stănescu
4 Pohealã Gh	18 Nestianu P
5 Ing.Pivniceanu	19 Aposteanu V
6 Prof.Chirnoagă	20 Munterman M
7 Haralambie Eug	21 Drăgănescu
8 Osain	22 Nedelcu St
9 Belcea D	23 I Stoenescu Viciu
10 Cpt.Popescu P	24 Höflich Ferd
11 Măndru C	25 A Nedelcu
12 Tăbăcaru I	
13 Trifan N	
14 Dudu I	

HUT Nr.26

1 Mărusteriu Toma	40 Zătaru Marin
2 Stănilă Ion	41 Antonovici Gh
3 Spanghel Isidor	42 Grig Manolescu
4 Kolb Edmund	43 Hachmüller Iulius
5 Loc.inv.V.Petheu	44 Hristescu Paul
6 Sărăndan Ion	45 Dr Kraus Joseph
7 B.Odobaşian	46 Haidu Frederich
8 Teofil Seroşan	47 Dervatius Gustav
9 Puia I	48 Fritz Roth
10 Muszai Iosif	49 Fick Joseph
11 Ostoia Vasile	50 Prainer Ernest
12 Roiban Ion	51 Milhofer Ludovic
13 Stefan Ninea	52 Drotlof Andrei
14 Verdeş Ion	53 Ion Prainer
15 Gr.Mojic	54 Kwierzinscki R
16 Spornic Ion	55 Grefner Gh
17 Penescu I	56 Mihai Gaftoiu
18 Tigău Gh	57 Vaşuta Adalbert
19 Cocoş Vasile	58 Heinrich C
20 Serbu C	59 Ambrosius Iuliu
21 Gr Ivănceanu	60 Wotsch Gh
22 Haret Vasiliu	61 Sapuschi G
23 Iatan I	62 Scutaru D
24 Aurel Antonescu	63 Lurz Ion
25 Pr.Molnar Arcadie	64 Craiovan P
26 Taşcă N	65 Remus Moldovan
27 Căp.inv.Gh Ionescu	66 Herţa Gh
28 Gh Stanciu	67 Eis Frederich
29 Drăgăneasa Gh	68 Untsch Ion
30 Emil D Lega	69 Balint Tiberiu
31 A Băbuţă	70 Ion N Popa
32 Davidescu Aurel	71 Schalbner Otto
33 Tanovici Gh	72 Selinger Iosef
34 Ion Angelescu	73 Szuks Paul Pr
35 Grigore Stefănescu	74 Munteanu Zamfir
36 Mielean Ion	75 Pascu Teodor
37 Szendeck Stefan	76 Wesser Josef
38 Lemhardt Rudolf	77 Cernea Pavel
39 Gh Manu	

L I S T

of the political prisoners in the Caracal camp who have signed the wire sent to His Majesty the King - MIHAI I - on the occasion of His fifth year of reign.

HUT Nr.____

Name and christian name

1 Popovici A
2 Diaconescu I
3 Traian Nestianu
4 Al Stanciu
5 Dr Potoescu
6 Fială
7 Măcelaru
8 Schneider
9 Potoşchi
10 Bucă
11 Urzică
12 Bărzescu
13 Sigmund
Guneş
15 Baldi
16 Kazemireş
17 Reverand Lenz
18 Lăzărescu
19 Anghelescu
20 Valdemar
21 Ranzescu
22 Brechner
23 Bonferd
24 Vopaika
25 Grigorovitza
26 Schneider
27 Emil Niţulescu
28 Schneider Willi
29 Georgescu V.

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HUT Nr.13

NOMINAL LIST

of those who refused to sign the telegram of hommage addressed to His Majesty The King - MIHAI I- on the occasion of His fifth year of reign

1 Cristor Grigoraş, agronomer, Cobadin, Constantza district
2 Dorobanţu Titi, newspaper man, Râmnicu-Sărat
3 Meşca Ion, confectioner, R.Sărat,
4 Rădulescu Ion, craftsman, ,,
5 Rădulescu Zamfir, ,, ,,
6 Dorin Gh.Toma, clerk, Bucharest,
7 Kotsch Viktor, bookseller, Sighişoara,
8 Hollitzer Iuliu, teacher, ,,
9 Roschberger Ion, expert, canned goods, Sighişoara,
10 Adleff Konrad, tanner, Sighişoara,
11 Kael Otto, book-keeper, ,,
12 Abraham Ludovic, lawyer, ,,
13 Ferninghel Herman, physician, ,,
14 Falk Josef, pensioner, ,,
15 Dan Tiberiu, lawyer, ,,
16 Dănilă Fabian, merchant, ,,
17 Zilinscki Konrad, baker, ,,
18 Plontsch Petre, craftsman ,,
19 Hayn Joseph, weaver, ,,
20 From Friedrich, hatter, ,,
21 Müller Gh., ploughman, ,,
22 Frank Mihail, clerk, ,,
23 Kloos Petre, merchant, ,,

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To His Majesty

King Michael I

B u c h a r e s t

Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's subjects, actually to be found as political internees in the concentration camp of Caracal, without any discrimination of nationality, age, sex, or profession, totalling over 1500, put themselves under Your Majesty's safeguard and request Your protection, demanding Your Majesty to put an end to a situation, the continuation of which is darkening the prestige of a constitutionally democratic State, injuring the ethical-spiritual life of the country, as well as the national economy.-

Drugged out from amidst our families - most of us being arrested during the midnight time, without any respect for the legal forms, but in the majority of cases, without even notifying us the cause or charge, we have been interned in local concentration camps or prisons and thereafter have been transfered to the collective concentration camp of Caracal.-

People of all ages from 16 to 85 have been implicated being crowded up in barracks, which had been provided for other purposes than those for the lodging of Your Majesty's subjects, for whom, if guilty, there are laws for trials and prisons,not concentration camps.-

All social and professional categories have been assembled here, a whole world has been drugged out from its daily life, especially without any reason, still awaiting for justice, since several months already.-

Only justice, Your Majesty, nothing else but justice.

For several months, more than 1500 poeple are vegetating, humiliated, confined to a narrow space, surrounded by double barbed wire, expecting to be brought into trials by a regime which even with the greatest benevolence deserves no other name, but the name of "the regime of concentration camps"

For several months, more than 1500 of the local citizens of this country are waiting for the arrival of a promised juridical commission, which arrival continuous announced is being systematically delayed from week to week.-

That there are innocent people behind the double bar-

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bed wire from Caracal, is proved also by the fact that from time to time some of them are being liberated : 5 are leaving, but 20 new ones enter the gates of the concentration camp, bended under the burden of their heavy luggage and the unjustice they suffer, increasing the rows of those, who are waiting for the commission that never arrives, enlarging thus the grievance and disaster of those they left behind them, in so many cases without any help.-

As on August 23.1944, by Your Majesty's high wisdom, patriotic and courageous decision, supported also by the country's responsable factors, the democratic regime has been restored in Roumania.-

In our mind, this democracy has always been and remains to be surrounded by a nimbus of sacredness, that cannot and must not be darkened by the prosecution of the informers,which have arisen out on all cross-roads of the paths of our national life, in order to remove from their way exerted personalities which proved in due time their love for the Nation and the country, industrious workers and peasants who love their soil.-

Aiming at a new and more superior organization of our Fatherland on a large scale of sincere and real democracy we demand:

- to be brought into trial,
- that we get to know those who are accusing us and
- what is the reason of the accusation
- that we are given the right to defend ourselves and the possibility to provide evidence and witnesses.-
- We further demand that those who are innocent be sent back to their daily life order, from which they were dragged out, in order to relieve thus our families from this terror that the actual regime has created and maintaining without any justification and under conditions from which in civilized countries are exempted even those who were sentenced in accordance with the laws in force.-

Your Majesty, we are submitting all our hopes only to Your Majesty's wisdom, the King of our country and his councillors, being certain that thus justice shall be granted to

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us.- We are and remain Your Majesty's devoted and full of love subjects.-

Caracal, June 29 1945

Annexes:
Tables and file containing 1311 signatures.-

Table
recapitulating per professions the interned signers of the Memorandum dated June 29.1945 addressed to His Majesty King Michael I.

Professions	
No. 1) Lawyers	38
2) Merchants and industrialists	111
3) Physicians and pharmaceutists	33
4) Pupils and Students	29
5) State employees	183
6) Employees of private undertakings	108
7) Engineers	32
8) Teachers	34
9) Members of the armed forces(on active service and pensioners)	16
10) Crafts men	296
11) Workmen	77
12) Peasants	158
13) University professors	6
14) Teachers	38
15) Clergymen	76
16) Policemen	27
17) Journalists and authors	13
18) Miscellaneous professions	36
Total	= 1.311.-

Translated from the Roumanian 1.

172

00119

DECLARATION

n

I, the undersigned, Grigorescu Dumitru, a printer, declare the following:

Whilst I was on duty at the "Finanţe şi Industrie" Printing house where the newspaper "Dreptatea" was printed, I was carried off, on the 3rd March 1945, together with the other colleagues, by several individuals unknown to me -but afterwards I found out that they were members of our Syndicate- who introduced me into a closed automobile and was taken to the National Printing-house, Serban Vodă Street, where I was cruelly beaten by several persons that were there. After this, on the same day, they took me, in another car, to Suter Alley Nr.21, where after I have been interrogated and from time to time slapped in the face, I was locked up in a room together with my colleagues we were subjected to a very strict regime, without being given sufficient food and water.
After 7 da ys I was carried off, on the 9th May, under a strong escort, to the Prefecture of Police of the Capital, where they kept me for 14 days, that is until 19th March, when I was again taken away in a car, in which there were several other persons, and transported to the Railway Station and from there we went to Caracal in the Police Prisoners' Camp where they retained for four months without being given a hearing, nobody asked me why I was there and what I had done. There I fell ill because when they carried me off from the Prefecture of Police they had not told me that they intended to send me to that Prisoners' Camp and having travelled without any preliminary preparations, having nothing to cover my body with, I caught a severe cold which resulted in rheumatism pains in my left arm and left side of my back. I am still suffering from these rheumatic pains. At the time I was imprisoned they compelled me to do some hard work my clothes being seriously damaged. When I was released I had to borrowm a pair of trousers to enable me to come back to Bucharest.

ss D. Grigorescu

P R O T E S T

We, the undersigned, Presidents of Sectors, of Circumscriptions, representatives of the Leading Committees of the National Liberal Party and of the National Peasant Party belonging to the respective Organizations in the Capital, as well as representatives of the Youth's section of the above two Parties, bring to your knowledge the following:

On the 25th October 1945, as early as 6 o'clock in the morning, we were carried off from our private residences by agents of the State Security Department and of the Prefecture of Police of the Capital and taken to the Prefecture of Police being told that the Minister of the Interior wishes to make us some communications.

Although the agents who carried us away had no written orders, we the undersigned made no opposition to this call and presented ourselves to the Prefecture of Police.

We were told that the Minister was expected to come there from one moment to the other, but we were kept there under Police escort from 7 in the morning. We were not allowed to get in touch with our families, being escorted even when we were going to the W.C's.

Although we made an intervention that a few of us should present ouselves to the Prefect of Police and to Mr. Nichifor, Director, Security Dept. we received a refusal and as a result the guard at the door of the hall where we were kept was strengthened.

This illegal and abusive step prevented us not only from forcibly neglecting our personal interests, but also as lawyers we have not had the possibility of defending our clients' interests, we were obliged to be absent from the offices we used to work being liable to pay damages.

We draw your attention that under a regime pretending to defend democratic ideals, citizens having a free profession, merchants and industrialists, craftsmen and labourers, have been carried off without any legal forms and abusively retained at the Prefecture of Police, without being offered any reasons therefore.

We endured similar proceedings both under the terroristic regime of the legionnaires and under that of Marshal Antonescu, we the undersigned having been the object of similar steps for the mere reason that we have always defended the democratic ideals.

We deem that this is a system that has no connection whatsoever with a democratic regime, since the citizens' liberties are altogether diregarded by arbitrary. We therefore indignantly protest against such abuses and in the name of the democratic principles - which we mean to defend continually with all our might - we demand that legal conditions be restored and orders be given for our immediate realease. We also demand that a serious inquiry should be made and those that are guilty of this abuse should be severely dealt with.

Follow twenty-four signatures.

D E C L A R A T I O N

I, the undersigned, Gh.Minciu, a master printer, residing in Bucharest, Vatra Luminoasă street 62, with reference to my arrest and detention, both illegal, for for and a half months in a prisoners' camp, make the following statements:

I was employed by the printing-house of the Social Welfare Service, 14, Doamnei street,where I have been working for the last two years, as technical leader.After August 23, 1944, due to the fact that I cold not entertain communist feelings, the Printing-house committee decided to dismiss me, but as I had never before had anything to do with politics, they did not succeed, but never disarmed and in connivance with the management of the printing-house they dismissed me without giving me any reason therefore.

As I had no employment I approached the syndicate (trade union) letting them know the injustice made to me.The syndicate fulfilled neither justice nor gave me any work, telling me that for the time being there were no demand.

A few days later I presented myself to the printing-house of the Federation, Blănari Street 20, where the manager who knew me could not employ me but told me that the "Finanţe şi Industrie" printing-house is in need of a specialist to repair a printing machine.

I went there on the same day and they engaged me with a view to looking after that machine.

For four whole days I was going to the Honegaru Undertakings,Olimpului street, to the Vulcan factory and finally on the 5th day I went to Zarafescu's, Cal.Rahovei, where I found that I was after, that is the machine was in need of new teeth for the two wheels, as well as a toothed rack.

On the fifth day, it was on a Saturday, March 3, 1945, as I was quietly taking to pieces the above machine and by 4 in the afternoon about twenty people came in -others were outside- who ordered me to get dressed and should I try to escape they told me that they would kill me, as all of them had revolvers.

Once dressed they dragged me into a car together with my colleagues and were taken to the "Monitorul Oficial" Serban Vodă Road, where the Secretary of the Syndicate, a certain Mihuţ, cruelly beat me. One of my ribs /broken/ and a double rupture, that was the result of this thrashing. After having been beaten for three hours, they again dragged me into the car and was taken to a communist office at 27, Suter Alley, where I was a gain thrashed although my head was swollen, my fur-cap being too tight now. My overcoat was torn,rent as Mihuţ, who weighs over 100 kgs. had trodden over my body.

They caused me here lots of disagreeablenesses, we were allowed to go to the w.c. only once in 12 hours and we never had a wash in seven days.

After 7 days we were handed over to the Police which caused us much relief, but we were mistaken as the illegal treatment continued

even at the Police Headquarters although it is known that no one may be retained for more than 48 hours. As for me I have been sleeping on a cement floor for three weeks with no air but with plenty of lice. After three weeks there were so many prisoners there that many of them had to sleep on the steps of the staircase. On 23rd March in the evening we were ordered to get ready and an automobile took us to the Mogoşoaia Station where some empty trucks were waiting for us.

We left at 5 in the morning and in the evening, that is on 24th March 1945, we arrived at Caracal where I was imprisoned in the Camp. I stayed there until July 18, 1945.

In the camps we were allotted 80 leia a day. One can easily imagine what this meant since 56 lei were needed daily for bread. What could they give us for 24 lei a day, namely for two meals?

I have never been asked by any of the official the reason why I was imprisoned without even being tried.

This is the pure truth and I sign with my own hand

ss Gh. Minciu.

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S T A T E M E N T

00123

I, the undersigned, Moise Eugen, of Bucharest, Dreptăţii Street Nr.3, declare the following:

On February 23rd 1945, I was engaged to work at the "Dreptatea" a newspaper published by the National Peasant Party, which had the neccesary permission from the Censorship.

I worked for 9 days, that is till March 3,1945, on Saturday, when I was arrested. On Saturday, Marc 3,1945, at 17 hrs., we were approache by a number of 30 people all armed with revolvers telling us: "Friends, stop work and let's go to the Union where we shall discuss together". They drew our attention to the fact that should we flee they would fire.

A car was waiting outside, in the yard, in which there were various people and they took us to a meeting place of theirs and began our "trial" after which the sprang on us beating us with a chair made of beech-tree wood, with a beech pole, one meter long, they gave us blows, they trampled on us, and mounting on a table they would fall over us in order to cause us as great pains as possible, as they thought they did not do us enough harm. Our clothes were all rags. They told us that we shall see no more our folks.

When evening drew nigh we were dragged into a closed car and the pression of their arms they took us to an unknown house. In the garret there were many arms and only Russian arms. After a few hours they began to search us. It also began our misfortune. We were beaten not with chairs and sticks, but with the handles and barrels of their guns, but not only to frighten us to kill us. They have taken away from our pockets all they could find and said that if they do not come to power- and in fact they did on March, 3rd 1945- we shall die.

After six days they had to take us to the Prefecture of Police, which now was under their orders, and before we went away they removed all the guns -40 automatic Russian pistols and many cases containing grenades. Although the orders given were that anyone having firearms they should be handed over to the Police. They took them to the Russian Mission where they left them there.

All such movements and transports used to take place at night between 23 and 24 hours.

We were kept another 14 days in the cells of the Prefecture of Police after which they sent us to the Caracal Camps. We stayed there another 4 months without being given any hearing. That meant condemnation without being asked why and without any right of appeal.

In the camps we led a very miserable life. There were many prisoners.

This is my declaration which I sign with my own hand.

ss Moise Eugen

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An eye-witness report on the events of November 8.1945

00124

On my way to the square being in front of the Royal Palace, I found all streets leading from Boulevard Bratianu to Calea Victoriei, blocked by military patrols, asking for the identity papers.-

After my arrival on the square, I have noticed groups of police sergeants, consisting of 5 men each, and being conducted by police agents, comming from Calea Victoriei.-

At 9,30 a.m. a small group of people, also comprising war-invalids, carrying the Roumanian tricolour, commenced to acclaim His Majesty the King.-

This group of people was in front of the monument which faces the palace.-

There after the number of people increased steadily, acclaiming without interruption His Majesty the King.- Immediately arrestations were made by agents of the Home Ministry, assisted by police-sergeants.-

I have seen approximately 100 persons - students, Roumanian officers, cadets, - being taken one after the other from the demonstrating group by civil agents of the Home Ministry, who were beating the arrested people on their heads, the sergeants making use of their caoutchouc sticks.-

All of these arrested people were taken to the yard of the Home Ministry (through the entrance door of the Home Ministry, on the opposite side of the royal palace).-

Many of them had blood running over their faces.-

The whole spectacle gave the impression of a proper "chasing for men".-

The arrestations have continued the whole time until 12,30 p.m., when I left the place, and I cannot report, therefore, upon what happened later on.-

During the time of my stay, there appeared, coming from str. Academiei and Wilson, open trucks loaded with men, being driven right amidst the demonstrating people, shouting " Petre Groza".-

Few minutes thereafter, appeared two more grey busses of the railroad company and a yellow one of the USIM Company, all full with people.-

These busses continuously were driven in the following circle: From the monument in front of the Royal Palace to the Hotel Athenée Palace, there they turned, drove up to the square of the palace, went round the monument, drove towards Calea Victoriei and re-appeared on the square of the palace through strada Academiei, during the whole time passing through the crowds of

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the demonstrating people.-Those loaded on the open trucks were cheering the Groza government, saluting with clenched fists.- Nobody answered anything.-

The people on the square of the Palace acclaimed continuously His Majesty the King.-

At 11 a.m. there appeared coming from the Calea Victoriei (direction of the military circle) and moving towards the palace, a large multitude carrying Roumanian tricolours and the portraits of His Majesty the King and Her Majesty the Queen-mother.-

These people, together with those already being in face of the palace, formed a compact mass which continued to acclaim the King.-

At this time, after the arrival of new masses, the trucks and busses remained at the corner of str.Wilson and Academiei.-

At a certain moment, an individual appeared from the yard of the Home Ministry, wearing a light-beige trench-coat, being without hat, mounting upon one of the cars and giving signs to the others to follow the first car, which began entering amongst the demonstrating people.-

I estimate that in total there were 12 cars.-

As a consequence of these provocations, the very nervous students, who were not able to continue their demonstrations for the King, began to throw stones against the last two open trucks,, throwing down the provocateurs, overthrowing the trucks and setting fire to them.-

The demonstration continued.- Thereafter I have seen an individual coming from the yard of the Home Ministry, wearing a black coat, a black hat, a grey neckcloth, carrying a machine-pistol (black colour) in his hand, being followed by three other individuals, two of them wearing long brown leather coats, without hats, the same ones who had previously made the arrestations of the students; there is not the slightest doubt that these men were agents of the Home Ministry.-

The man with the black coat, the one who carried the machine-pistol, approached the multitude from the square of the Cretulescu church (vis-à-vis the Home Ministry) kicking the people with his feet in their backs, in order to make them disappear from there.-

When he saw that the people did not move, he stepped back 5-6 metres, kneeled down and fired into the crowd.-

These were the first shots I have heard.-

This man was assisted by the other two individual in the brown leather coats, whilst the third one, who w

a brown leather jacket and a cap of grey cloth, suddenly took a revolver from a pocket of his coat and also started firing.-

At this moment when the people heard the shots, they threw themselves on the ground.-

After the end of the shooting, I have seen a Roumanian officer, hit in his head, in a blood pool, a man(wearing civilian clothes) and a woman shot in their arms.-

Those individuals of the Home Ministry, who had shot against the demonstrating people, withdrew behind the cordon of sergeants and policemen, who stood at the corner of str. Academiei, the park and the door of the Home Ministry.-

The wounded were near the above mentioned park, so that I could see them very clearly.-

Thereafter arrived an American sport-car with one American and one Roumanian officer, who both went to the yard of the Home Ministry.-

The people began to rave, moving towards the doors of the Home Ministry, led by three invalids on crutches, who attempted to open the doors of the Home Ministry by force (entrance on the opposite side of the palace).-

Again there began the shooting with machine-pistols, this time even from the yard of the Home Ministry.-

There followed protestations and cursing by the mass, who began to tear the communist placards from the walls of the Home Ministry.-

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Prefecture of Police of the Capital

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Aspects under Petru Groza's government since March 1945

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The present communist régime in Rumania is under the protection of a well organized covered Police, the so-called "Ci - tizens' Committees"each quarter of the town and district having its own committee, enjoying limitlessp powers over the Rumanians whom they call "reactionaries".

The State Police Administration is also transformed into a régime Police, it having been completely changed on the ground that the personnel is incorrect,dishonest, abusive, incapable or supposed to be reactionary.Those who were replaced have been sent into the concentration camps for imaginary faults, without being given a hearing, this being due to anonymous denunciations or a revenge action of those who pretend to have once been unjustly treated, whilst many others dismissed without a s alary or indemnity, without being given the possibility of working somewhere else; and why all these ? Because they were unlucky enough to enter the Police career.

Those who came in their places have no professional training whatsoever, incapable, have not gone to school, inhuman, abusive and in most cases swindlers, thieves, burglars, all very well known. But all these people are memebers of the Communist Party, working for the present régime and do all they can in order to create anxiety and terrorize the population, but of course they do no police work.

Under such circumstances the Police exists only on paper, public security is not guaranteed at all, everybody is now a Government employee leading a comfortable life, drawing salaries and other indemnities, exploiting their function as if it were a personal affair.

The number of thefts, burglaries and other unlwaful actions has considerably increased; every one is leading a frightful life as the complaints filed at the Police are not takeni into consideration by anybody.The interested parties complain, but who would listen to them? The press gives no assistance nor does it take a note of such complaints.At day time passers-by are attacked, in the street, by individuals armed with revolvers who are mere burglars wearing Ru - manian or Russian uniforms.

The Police on the field, street constables do not exist any more, since they have all been dismissed as a result of a request made by the Russian Control Commission. There were a total of 4.000 constables -even this number was not sufficient- but now there are only 900 whose business is that of mounting guard in front of the public authorities or at the residence of various officials.Conse - quently nothing can be said of a preventive guard in the streets.

The staff of the Bucharest Prefecture of Police -

Emil Găluşcă: Director of Judicial Police.Formerly an assistant commissaire of police, who has also once been a Pretor at Jassy, having at that time been dismissed since he was not fit for his job. Now he is quite good to be at the head of Judicial

Chief commissaire Eugen Alimănescu.
Well known to the Prosecutor's office for swindling.He is abusive and dishonest. In his office at the Police Headquarters one can see on the walls traces of blood;on the desk, on the peg one can also see rubbered wire used as torture instruments which can get any declaration that is wanted.There is continual disorder on his desk wh ereon one can see jewels and money, all sorts of precious objects, identity documents without any mention as to where they come from, and whom they belong to. All sorts of cloths, silks, clothing stolen by thieves and which afterwards disappear they being divided among the agents and sold.

Having been arrested for abusive actions in October 1945 the State Security authorities have investigated his case, and as it was known that the results would be unfavorable for him, by order of the Minister of the Interior Teohari Georgescu who had been approached by Mihail Levente, Secretary General of the Prefecture of Police,the investigation was continued by a representative of the Prefecture of Police.The result was, of course, quite favorable and the conclusions were that Alimănescu was not guilty at all, he being the victim of the so-called reactionaries. He was rewarded and instead of being sent to prison, he was promoted, having been appointed chief of the Field Judicial Police.

Chief commissaire Vaida Bela.

Chief of the Sabotage Section. Equally well known by the Prosecutor's office.He suffered a political sentence in 1920, and a two years' imprisonment in 1928 for 23 thefts committed in Bucharest having 12 embezzlers.He has once more been sentenced to two years' correctional imprisonment, having been set at liberty on May 2, 1935.

Commissaire Voinescu
A well-known burglar, having a thick dossier of his mischiefs. He was caught together with his accomplices whilst stealing.When he was caught he was wearing a commissaire's uniform.

Terelschi Boris

Burglar.At present in the office of Teohari Georgescu,Minister of the Interior.

Untilă. Pick-pocket.

Likewise at the office of the Minister of the Interior.

Abuses.

In July or August 1945, Mr.Bănescu, a Prosecutor at the Prosecutor's office, Ilfov Courts, together with another magistrate, both of them representing the Armistice Commission, accompanied by Commissaire Roşu of the Prefecture of Police, as a result of a denunciation, searched a colonel's house where they found none of the objects mentioned in that denunciation.Whilst the magistrate was talking to the colonel, the commissaire insulted him using bad language.The magistrate immediately drew up a report and the commissaire was arrested accordingly,but he stayed in custody only till next day when he was set at liberty by Mr.Levente, Secretary

General of Police, instead of sending him to the Prosecutor's office as he was obliged to do.

Commissaire H.Negrea (Schwartz) of the "S" (Special) Brigade - in the month of August 1945 he arrested Apfelberg D., a merchant, Vânători street Nr.3, on the charge that he had transported a quantity of cotton without any legal basis. The commissaire having been approached by Wexler Ludvig, a friend of the arrested party, the former has been set at liberty but he had to give the commissaire a gold bracelet which he has afterwards sold to Max Mayer, a jeweller, for 300.000 lei.
On the 7th September 1945, commissaire Negrea having been detailed by his chief Vaida Bela to make some investigations at Messrs.Gaster,-as these people had deposited at the Obor Stores a quantity of 10 carloads of beans, found out, so he states, that Messrs.Gaster had sold the merchandise at a price higher than the official price.Consequently the Police arrested the partners i.e.Eduard Gaster,Herold Minderer and Osias Spitzer.Through the medium of the denunciator, Suchard Solomon, it has been proposed to Eng.Silberbusch a certain settlement i.e.the Police will receive 15 million lei and 6 carloads of beans for setting at liberty the arrested parties.They refused. Negrea threatened them that they will be sent to the concentration camp.Finally the ransom dropped to 5 million lei.As a result of the intervention of some big people the investigation was stopped and no money was ever paid.
Commissaire Ionescu Ioachim of the 11the Police Section.together with Stoia Dumitru, chairman of the Control Office attached to the 11th Police Section,received a bribe of 400.000 lei from a merchant, Leventer, Blănari street 16 who had closed down his shop without having the necessary authorization.

On August 28,1945 the "S" men arrested Wilhelm Birkenfeld,Ion Bogdan street 17, where they found 2400 pair of silk stockings,foreign currency and various other goods. It has then been proved that this lot of stockings had been purchased from Messrs.Theodorescu, Boulev.King Albert 1, without a legal invoice.Chief of Police Vaida Bela, made no further investigations,the merchant renounced to the stockings,received back the other goods, the foreign currency was deposited with National Bank of Rumania.The stockings were sold at the Police Employees' Shop and the money thus resulted was deposited with the cashier of the respective Party.No official papers have ever been drawn up. The investigations further made led to the discovery at 68, Obor street of various goods, stolen or captured, property of this same Birkenfeld and of a cousin of his. The goods were confiscated without the usual inventory and sent to the Police Employees' shop after which an inventory was made.No legal papers have been drawn up.

Chief of Police Davidescu of the 2nd Sector.He arrested on September 12, 1945, a certain Mendel, an apothecary, who was carrying a portfolio containing medecine.He also discovered a store of medecine at Mendel's residence.Thanks to Vaida Bela, chief of Police nothing further was heard of this case.

For the charge of having sold to the Bucharest Tramway Co. four tyres and four inner tubes, Duţulescu Ion, Silistra street 130, a tyre vulcanizer, was arrested on September 4,1945.The money that is 1.695.000 which he obtained for this sale was confiscated by Vaida

Bela, chief of Policedrew up no legal papers against him than on Duţulescu whom he obliged to denounce the rubber speculators.

The commissaires Scăunaş and Reincherz, together with their agent Militaru, have staged up the purchase from Danieluc of Boulev. Maria 2, of a large quantity of stockings.Although the merchant had not on hand the required quantity which he had to get from the factory, they continued the negociation and paid him an advance of 8.000.000 lei. The agent received a commission of 3 million lei from the merchant.

Chiefof Police Ionescu of the 32nd Police Section, using the services of the well known swindler Vasilescu-Cantalup, was trying to discover a clandestine sugar store.To that end Vaida Bela placed at the disposal of Ionescu 50.000.000 lei. In fact Vasilescu-Cantalup succeeded in swindling as eries of merchants having thus got 8 million lei. He also succeeded in getting from Chief of Police Ionescu, whom he deceited 3.000.000 lei for which reason he was arrested. At present Vasilescu-Cantalup is doing all he can that his case may be brought before the Higher Legal Courts to d emonstrate that he was provoked by the Police and also to protest against the fact that he was arrested and kept in custody beyond the legal limit, quite illegally.

Chief of Police Sercuş D. on 27th August 1945 found out that the shop "En vogue",Calea Victoriei 68,had a lot of goods which, in accordance with the law, had to be declared.This was a case of economic sabotage.Neither legal papers were drawn up nor the merchant arrested, because a bribe was paid and the amount deposited with the cashier of the Party.

The same commisaire Sercuş having made an investigation at the Cuşmaru's shop "Lebeda", was or dered by his chief Vaida to stop the investigation although he discovered a serious breach of law.The merchant had paid the amount of 5 million lei as a bribe.

Commisaaire Landau Iuliu, Secretary of the "S" Brigade",never keeps in order the official papers, so that it is almost impossible to ascertain what cases have or have not been investigated, what cases have been forwarded to the Higher Authorities and what cases have been filed.The money collected is not recorded as it ought to be.He has no documents to prove that the entries are correct.Money is spent without a higher official approval.Money is drawn only on the basis of mere I.O.Us.As to the goods confiscated it should be stated that there is no proper recording of same.The goods are sold or distributed before a legal settlement is reached.Large quantities of foreign cigarettes, medecine etc. have been confiscated without being recorded and deposited in the store.They are kept in the offices of two Chiefs of Police Vaida and Lăzărescu.There is no record whatsoever.

Commissaire Moscovici Arnold of the 21st Police Section,together with a certain Nistor Ion, have found out that at the bookseller's Librăria Invăţătorilor, Calea Rahovei 23, a quantity of excercise-books have been sold to Messrs Bucegi of Stavropoleos Street 15, for which they issued an invoice showing a smaller quantity. As Moscovici discovered the breach of law he drew up the respective minutes of proceedings but as afterwards a bribe of 230.000 lei was paid, the documents were destroyed.

The Technical Brigade arrested Florea Bacă, a well-known burglar, for the reason that an amount of 200.000 lei was found about him. The money was handed over to Chief of Police Alimănescu. After three days Bacă's wife saw Alimănescu and proposed to him that his prisoner should be set at liberty against that amount of money. Alimănescu refused and asked another amount of 200.000 lei. Bacă's wife accepted but broughtonly 100.000 lei. The money was collected but Florea Bacă was sent to the Courts but next day he was set at liberty.

Chief of Police Alimănescu arrested Doru Abramovici because the latter had bought goods stolen from the shop called "Duchesse". Alimănescu having searched his house he found there goods which Doru had stolen. There were discovered several cases of sugar and one watch which afterwards disappeared. Meanwhile proposals were made to Abramovici to get in touchw with the shop's owner who claimed some 650.000 lei. Agent Rosenzweig who accompanied the burglar to his house in order to bring the money, the former received 700.000 lei from the latter.

The investigations made at the Prefecture of Police always take place in an atmosphere of terror. People are beaten, shrieks are heard, everybody can see and hear that. From the Police prison one can hear the prisoners cry: Give us bread and water, stop this thrashing, Chief Alimănescu, you keep us hear without being given a hearing whilst the thieves are free. Others cry: Mr Prefect, come along, they're killing us. In July between 14-16 hrs. people were heard uttering groans. The shrieks of the beaten people were heard in the halls and in the yard. The mouth of the man thrashed was stopped. Later on these shrieks were again heard whilst the other prisoners were crying: Don't kill him, Mr. Alimănescu, let the Prefect come here, why do you burn our heels, we are not reactionary folks. In August the cries and shrieks of these people were so powerful that even the clerks in their offices could hear them, which prevented them from their work. These in custody were shouting as they were hungry. Two lady clerks moved to tears saw Captain Marin who was surprised at what he heard and promised to inform his superiors.

On another day Lawyer Vasiliu of the Patriots' Union who was in the Requisition Office heard these terrific shrieks. A lady clerk asked him how was it possible that people should be beaten like that, and he admitted that he never heard or saw such terrible things. Later on the arrested people were movedto another place so that their lamentations should no longer be heard by the outside people.

On the 5th floor, the citizens that have business to transact at the Requisition Office are never well looked after by Vicol and ex Major and his assistant Finţi. Weeks and sometimes months must pass before the interested parties can get a result in connection with the applications they file therein. These two officials have often been seen kicking visitors out. There are many citizens who are entitled to lodging and cannot get same, whilst other people who are not at all entitled thereto get it quite easily.

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State Forest Administration
Administrative Direction

November 12th, 1945 00132

We have the honour to inform you that with reference to the order received by telehbone, to-day from the Ministry of Agriculture and Domains, all the employees shall be to-day at noon, in the yard of the Ministry of Agriculture and Domains.

Kindly draw the attention of all the employees in your administration, that <u>their attendance is compulsory.</u>

The employees are required to sign on this circular order whish kindly forward to the Administrative Direction for control.

Kindly detail an employee who shall verify the presence of the employees in the yard of the Ministry.

Let us knowt the names of the employees who will be absent.

Director
ss Velicu Georgescu

Subdirector
ss illegible

Circular order transmitted by the Central Committee of the "Union of Patriots" to the subordinate Committees.

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Union of Patriots
3rd district

00133

In view of the manifestation planned for November 8th, the General Confederationof Labour has taken the following steps:

From seven o'clock in the morning, strong forces of Roumanian Railway workers, will be placed on the Royal Palace square, forces that must prevent an eventual manifestation of the reactionary forces, in favour of His Majesty the King. These railway workers have the pass-word to act accordingly, smoking and making no manifestation for the King.

They were enjoined to be very prudent, should they meet stronger reactionary forces, and not to re-act, in order that they be not seen by Ethridge's men. But when Ethridge's men will not be noticed in their neighbourhood, they must use all means to annihilate any manifestation.

The gangs of the Palace Square will be eventually changed by rotation with other guardsmen, from the "23rd August (Malaxa(" Factory. Shock-gangs will be placed in the neighbourhood of all these places, to prevent any interference of the reactionary manifestation.

To that end, on Thursday free cinema and artistic festivals will be arranged for the members of the National Democratic Front in the "Transylvania", "Dalles" and other halls, wherein the participating people (armed agents) will permanently be at the disposal of the authorities to interprose should necessity arise, to annihilate the manifestation the reaction forces may attempt.

Secretary General C.P.-S

ss Sebastian Ionescu

Propaganda Secretary

ss E. Mărculescu

Union of Patriots
3rd District

Bucharest,
6th November 1945

To...............
District....

A cultural artistical (cinema) manifestation will take place in the "Transylvania" hall, Schitu Măgureanu Avenue (opposite the Municipal Theatre) on Thursday, November 8th, 1945, at 10,30.

Kindly let our friends know that they are required to attend in as great a number as possible, having in view the extremely important character of this manifestation. Entrance absolutely free.

Secretary General
Educational-Propaganda Section

ss .

Secretary Propaganda

ss E.Mărculescu

Report made by the Commander of the Gendarmerie on the field to General Anton. 18f

00135

The "Order and Guard" Battalion divided into groups of 10 gendarmes on the 8th of November 1945 at 7 o'clock in the morning has occupied the entries of all the streets leading to the Royal Palace, having the following mission:

-to stop any manifestation;

-to prohibit the passage of the groups composed of more than ten persons.

In the square in front of the Royal Palace detachments of Guardians(constables) assisted by civilians were mounting guard and dispersing any group regardless of the number, however small, of the people that were making the manifestation.

There was order until 11.30, interrupted by incidents of no importance.

As the crowd was growing larger and larger, the Government sent about ten lorries (trucks) laden with workmen, which were moving, at high speed, round the statue in the square in front of the Palace and breaking into any of the groups that were gathering there to manifest for the King.

"Long live the King" were shuting the former, "Petru Groza and the People" were shouting the latter, whilst British and American soldiers and officers, lifted up by the crowd were photographing all that was happening, those in the trucks were trying to come in front of their cameras so that they might be photographed instead of the crowd, thus endevouring to give to the events a wrong impression.

A quarrel ensued between those who wanted to manifest, and those in the trucks who would not allow the former to make the manifestation, throwing at them all sorts of metal objects that were in the vans, and which those on foot were in their turn throwing at the people in the lorries. I believe that those who were manifesting were organized -although they had no arms about them-, as were those who were trying to hinder the manifestation, since they came especially to that end.

As soon as the manifesting people noticed that they can retort without being fired at, they jumped into the vans which were preventing their manifestation, overturned them and set them on fire. When the Fire Brigade arrived on the spot to put out the fire, they were stopped by the crowd from doing so shouting "let tyranny burn down".

The other lorries went away. The crowd in frenzy cheered His Majesty the King and began to dance the "Union dance"(Hora Unirii) round the burnt lorries.

On the wall of the statue they wrote "We shall not leave before the Government of Traitors of Rumania leave". Cavalry and aviation officers were at the head of the crowd.

When the Battalion had nothing else to do, its mission exceeded, ordered that the gendarmes should go to dinner.

At the moment of its departure bullets were fired from the Ministry of Interior Affairs, guarded by the Special Coy (civilians wearing gendarmes' uniforms.

These were the first circumstances solely responsible for the fights that ensued.

Orders were given at the Battalion H.Q. that the men should

return immediately, but this time to the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

Here on Wilson street people were gighting.The Special Coy were firing tremendously.

Private Bădescu Mircea of this Company not knowing how to handle his rifle, shot himsff in the abdomen dying little afterwards. This can be proved by the declarations made by the gendarmes of the 4th Coy and even the dead soldier's comrades know exactly what happened. All the men belonging to the "Order and Guard" Battalion know this.

As these soldiers were not yet drilled and had never so far fired an arm, did not know how to handle their armament, firing at random, which explains the marks on the walls of the building of the Ministry of the Interior, of that of the General Confederation of Labor and on the fwont walls of the Ministry during the jostling in the streets

Sergeant gendarme Stan of the 4th Coy, was wounded in his arm by one of his men who was firing at random.The gendarme stated to his comrades that he did so as a revenge.Thus the hatred that existed between the gendarmes of the Battalion and the Special Coy has increased.

The Battalion was restoring order,rifles on shoulders,practically all the time.The officers Captain Bosinceanu, Lieut.Târlea,2ndLt Păunescu, on one hand, Lieut.Tomovici, Lieut.Spineanu etc. on the other had given orders to their men not to fire, and have continually tried to disperse the crowd and to clear up the incidents.

As Captain Bosinceanu promised the crowd that he will set at liberty the arrested people, the crowd withdrew from Wilson Street waiting that the officer should fulfill his mission.

Civilians from the "General Confederation of Labour",soldiers of the "Tudor Vladimirescu" Diwision as well as men of the Special Coy, armed with automatic guns,opened a fire on those who were withdrawing, without taking into consideration that there were also officers and men belonging to the Battalion and who were forming the cordon.

At this moment many gendarmes were wounded.

The crowd indignant, made endeavours to put themselves close together, this time through Calea Victoriei,going towards the Ministry.

This time it is the "Tudor Vladimirescu" Divisiont that intervened with a cordon of 50 men, arms in hand, pushing the crowd backs as far as the corner of Calea Victoriei towards the National Theatre.

People were shouting there "Down with terror" and "Down with the Division of deserters".The crowd was fired at right in the face, many people having fallen dead.

The officers of this Divisionw were quite satisfied saying that they represent the force and that Justice is in the hands of those who have Force.

Then they began to arrest the people and all those who acclaimed the King were arrested.Many of those who were arresting the others said that they had suffered the same lot in 1941,when they had been arrested and beaten.

The Medical Officer of the Battalion was walking in the prison of the Ministry cruelly beating the arrested people being assisted by Warrant Officer Grama (who had formerly served in Marshal Antonescu's Guard). The Special Coy, the Battalion and the Tudor Vladimirescu Div.

had remained on guard for tree or four days. The building of the Ministry of the Interior is permanently guarded by the Company and by the Guard Battalion, whilst the men of the "Tudor Vladimirescu" Division were sent back to their barracks so that they should not draw the attention of the American and British soldiers.

Meanwhile these men have been relieved and they no longer mount guard at the Ministry and other Institutions so that the people should have the impression that this Division does not influence it.

A number of those arrested at the Ministry of the Interior have been beaten,most cruelly, by Major Dr.Wolski, Mediacl Officer of the "Order and Guard" Battalion.

The Major had come in the evening quite drunk.

During the fights that took place on November 8, 1945, two sergeants of the Special Coy have endeavoured to arrest 2nd/Lt. Victor Păunescu, on the charge that he had set at liberty one woman who had joined the crowd.

Lt.Tomovici's case is being examined at the Ministry on the charge that he had set at liberty some of the arrested parties. Lt.Marius Popa of the Special Coy declares that the case of one more officer is being investigated at the Ministry.We do not know the name of this officer.

Captain Gavrilovici, Commander of the Special Coy was on the point of being shot by a medical officer, in his turn shot by a soldier of the Special Coy.

Captain Gavrilovici would have talked about a "necessary incident" leading to General Anton's suppression

On November 12, 1945, a private soldier who had shouted "Long live the King" when the cortège was passing, was locked up at the "Order and Guard" Battalion.-

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Bucharest, November 12th, 1945

His Excellency,
The President of the Allied Control Commission.

You are certainly aware of the ~~bloody~~ events of the 8th November 1945, when the peaceful manifestation of the citizens who were acclaiming the country's King, on the occasion of His name's day was attacked and annihilated with a wild brutality by shock gangs of the Communist party and by the Police and Gendarmery by order of the Government.

Such manifestations took place in many other towns throughout the country.

In the Capital, school-boys and girls, women, disabled soldiers, workmen, teachers, students, clerks, who were acclaiming, were encircled by military cordons, run over by motor-vans,hit, shot at. Many of them have been arrested and cruelly tortured.They have also arrested a number of leading members ofthe National Liberal and National Peasant Parties. There are many dead and others seriously wounded by fire-arm bullets which constitutes -if there be any need- a precise and unquestionable proof regarding the authors of this attack.In fact, many members of the Soviet,British and American Missions have been able to personally witness in Bucharest all that happened and have thus been able to convince themselves quite clearly of the significance of these events.

The Government are, however, endevoring to, accuse the National Peasant and National Liberal Parties for having provoked the troublesthat took place on November 8th, 1945.

The antecedents of that day added to the facts already known by everybody demonstrate still clearer that this accusation is not a bona fide one.

In fact, on November 6th, the Secretaries General of the National Peasant and National Liberal Parties have separately been invited at the Ministry of the Interior and requested to stop the manifestations planned for the King's name's day, lest blood might shed.

The Secretaries General replied that it is not possible to revoke a manifestation that had not been convened and that the Central Offices of these two Parties had never had the intention of organizing any manifestation having a political shade, on the occasion of a holiday that belongs to the whole nation.The members of these parties who will have participated in this manifestation have been given categorical instructions to keep the most strict discipline, and should an incident take place during these manifestations the responsibility thereof shall fall only on the Governement authorities and the provoking agents.

On November 7th, the Secretary General of the National Peasant Party has confirmed, in writing, to the Minister of the

the conversation he had with him and transmittedto him the reply of the Central Office of the Party to the effect that they cannot accept the suggestion made by the Minister that political meeting may be held indoors on the occasion of the King's name's day,as it was becoming that this event should remain a real national holiday. Herewith please find a copy of the letter referred to.

The Secretary General of the National Liberal Party made a similar oral statement.

On November the 8th, the Minister of the Interior hasa again convened the two Secretaries General who this time went together.The Minister read them a letter sent by the President of the Allied Control Commission in answer to a letter received from the Ministry of the Interior.

On this copy the Minister was shown a copy ofa a letter sent by the Union of Patriots to its sub-committees, in which there were set forth instructions in connection with the measures to be ta ken with a view to hindering, even by violence, the manifestation.

On the same day, the Ministry of the Interior was to confirm the previsions, as well as its threat, as the Ministry itself gave orders for firing without any warning whatsoever, against peaceful people not even armed.

In protesting indignantly against the calumnious accusations proferredagainst our parties which on the other hand are hindered from giving the necessary public reply, the National Peasant and National Liberal Parties solemnly protest against the terror under which a Government of odious dictatorship wants to place the Rumanian people which repudiates it and ask you to direct an impartial inquiry to be made.

The National Peasant and National Liberal Parties think that the investigation quite indispensable in c onnection with the tragical events of November the 8th, cannot be made by the Government itself guilty of having provoked them.

Such an investigation which ought to be just, requires certain guaranties of impartiality, which can only be realized, under the present circumstances, by the Allied Control Commission.

In view of the foregoing, we have the honor to ask you, Sir,kindly to submit to the Allied Control Commission our pressing request that this investigation should be made as soon as possible, which will establish the responsibilities in c onnection with the troubles and the murders that took place on November 8th, 1945.

We are, Sir, etc.

President of the National Peasant Party	President of the National Liberal Party
ss Iuliu Maniu	ss Dinu Brătianu

Bucharest, November 6th 1945 192

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The Minister of the Interior,

Sir:

On the occasion of the audience to which you have invited me on November 6, 1945, in the evening, at the Ministry of the Interior, you had the kindness of letting me know, in my capacity of Secretary General of the National Peasant Party, in short, the following:

The Government cannot tolerate that a political party should monopolize the devotedness towards the King, and to transform the King's name-day a pretext for political agitation.

The Government are informed that elements of the National Peasant Party, have the intention of provoking incidents, on the occasion of the manifestation planned for November 8th, which may engender serious unrest.

Consequently, this manifestation cannot take place, but the National Peasant Party is granted the permission to hold indoors meetings, similar permissions having been always granted and no one has been persecuted or arrested on the charge of being a member of that party. On the contrary, the National Peasant Party has had full liberty of action.

You stated that the Central Office of our Party shall be held responsible for whatever might happen on the 8th November, having also added that you have accordingly informed the Allied Controle Commission.

I took the permission of anticipating the reply of the Central Office of the National Peasant Party, pointing out to you that this manifestation is the anonymous work of the population of our Capital, being desirous of expressing to His Majesty the King their homage and to show Him their love for Him. Far from causing you any uneasiness this gesture ought to be, for you too, an occasion to join in the expression of popular sentiment.

The National Peasant Party hasnever resorted to violent attitudes in its political action.

The information that the State Authority has been supplied with which refer to the troubles contemplated, does not concern the responsible members of our organizations, but to provoking agents in the pay of other parties(interests).

As regards the liberty the National Peasant Party would be enjoying, I have reminded you that our Party has been hindered by the Police Authorities to hold its meetings, although it had received the permission to that end (the cases that happened a few days ago in the "Milano" and "Barcelona" halls).

Many leading members of the National Peasant Party had been arrested in Bucharest. Hundreds of men continue to be locked up, for no fault of theirs, in the concentration camps, except

that of being members of the National Peasant Party. All these unjust measures have been borne with resignation and without any reaction so far.

It cannot therefore be said that the National Peasant Party is enjoying liberty.

The Central Office instructs me to transmit to you the following:

The manifestation planned by the population of the Capital, in connection with His Majesty the King's name's-day, is not an action of the National Peasant Party and it cannot therefore repeal what it has not convened.

The National Peasant Party cannot accept the suggestion that it should organize political meetings on the occasion of His Majesty the King's name's day, whilst its members are free to participate in the abovementioned manifestation.

The Central Office of the Party is not aware of any schemes of disorder and cannot be held responsible for what any provoking agents might commit.

We avail ourselves of this occasion to ask you kindly to grant us the authorization to hold one or several public meetings on November 18, 1945, to take place in the halls which we shall indicate at a later date.

We protest on behalf of the National Peasant Party against the fact that such a national day as that of November the 8th, is transformed into a political dispute and also into a working day of a holiday recognised by the law as being a holiday of the whole nation.

I am,

Sir,

yours etc.

Secretary General of the
National Peasant Party,

ss N. Penescu.

COMMUNIQUE

The Permanent Delegation of the National Peasant Party completed with the former Ministers and Under Secretaries of State met under the presidency of Mr.Iuliu Maniu, on the 17th November 1945, and heard the report made by the President and that made by by N.Penescu, Secretary General and as a result of the discussions take took place, declare:

I. Unanimously approve the policy and the action of the Central Office of the Party.

II. The National Peasant Party is solidary with the whole Nation that showed its love towards His Majesty the King and the Country as well as for the democratic institutions of the country, by the manifestations that took place on November 8th,1945 in the Capital and nearly in all the towns in the country.

III. Ascertain that the F.N.D. régime (National Democratic Front) and its expression, the rebel Cabinet, presided over by Mr.Groza, have transformed, by means of the blood they caused to be shed, a national holiday into a wide protest of the country against them.

IV. We make the F.N.D. régime and the present Cabinet responsible for the assassinations committed on 8th November in Bucharest and in other towns, when their organs have fired, by the order of the Ministry of the Interior, without any reason whatsoever, against the crowd that peacefully made the manifestation at the Royal Palace in Bucharest and in other parts.

V. We share the sorrow and the mourning of the whole nation for the hundreds of victims of this unprecedented agression, as history does not know of any such crime committed by a Government against the people, for the reason that it wanted to congratulate the King over His anniversary.

VI.Not being content with the blood that was shed, the Government has began an appalling terror against those who attended the manifestations on November 8th, 1945.

Officers,high officials, workmen, women and childrem, have been arrested, tortured and dismissed from their jobs or driven away from their schools.

VII.The National Peasant Party solemnly declares before the country and the civilized world, that it will struggle without any rest for the punishment of the guilty parties, no matter who they are, for the crimes, tortures,arrests and persecutions made.

Public employees and whoever detains public authority, who will commit any illegal actions, under any circumstances, shall be seriously dealt with, whereas their victims shall

VIII. Approves the request made by the Central Office of the National Peasant Party made to the Allied Control Commission so that this high institution should cause an investigation to be made in connection with events that took place on November 8th, 1945, more especially with the false statements made by the Minister of the Interior responsible for the assassinations and illegal actions ordered by him and in view of the endeavors this Cabinet is making (which has been the provoking agent) to accuse and judge us - in order to transform the guilty parties into victims.

IX. We ask the Allied Control Commission to take a decision in connection with the above and take urgent steps for the investigation of these events, in order to soften the pains of those that are arrested and molested on account of the terroristic action of the Government.

X. We ascertain that although the crowd gathered in front of the Royal Palace has been attacked with rifles and machine gun fire by the organs of the Government, no violent reaction against anybody took place.

We do not admit that there might have been any persons, even isolated ones, who would have had any antisovietic or antisemitic attitude, as human sentiments and politic maturity which characterize the Rumanian People, exclude the possibility of such action. If such an action has taken place, of which we have no idea, we disapprove it with energy.

XI. In view of the fact that the Ministry of the Interior have given no authority for the meeting convened for the 18th of November and as we desire to know the result of the investigation made by the Allied Control Commission, we decided to postpone the date of this meeting for a later date.

XII. The Central Office is instructed to continue the struggle for the introduction of a legal régime for the maintainance of the liberties of the citizens and for the immediate removal of the Government stained with the blood of peaceful citizens, of the youth and of the children all of them innocent.

November 17th, 1945.

The People's Tribunal

The coalition governments had agreed upon the establishment of a People's Tribunal, which was to sentence those guilty for the disaster of the country.- Ordinary criminals,guilty of assasinations commited in conjunction with the state of war, were to be sentenced by civil courts of justice, but on the basis of a special law.-

In this respect the following laws were passed:. . . .

Divergences of opinion, between the political parties, arose however, in respect of fixing the date as from which the criminal deeds were considered to be responsible for the disaster of the country.-

The National-Peasant Party sustained that this date should be February 20.1938, the date of the formal establishment of the dictatorship of the former King Carol II.

The communists, however, had special reasons to ignore everything that had happened between February 20.1938 and September 6.1940.-

In the chapter relative to the policy of Mr.Gh.Tatarescu, we have also explained the reasons for the preoccupation of the communists in connection with the quality that had been reserved to that politician, who has been rescued only by shiftling the date of February 20.1938, to that of September 6.1940, when the second dictatorship, that of the legionaries, began.-

But the point of view of the National-Peasant Party has triumphed.- Although not entirely, in as much as Mr.Gh. Tatarescu, has not been arrested and tried before the people's tribunal.-

The government of Petre Groza, with Gh.Tatarescu as vice-president of the counsil, has abrogated the former laws and has decreed a new one for the sentencing of the war criminals and those guilty for the disaster of the country.-

It is from this date that Gh. Tatarescu succeeded in eliminating every danger for himself personally.-

Only those deeds are now sentences, that were committed under the dictatorships of the legionaries and Antonescu, beginning on September 6.1940.-

All those who have supported or who stood in the services of the dictatorship of Carol II, first and foremost Gh. Tatarescu, have been exempted from the hardiness of this law.-

Thus escaped from condemnation this man who is the foremost and to the largest extent guilty for the change of our external policy and for the establishment of the three

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dictatorships, which have led the country to a real disaster.-

Despite all these facts, the communist propaganda has not ceased accusing the National-Peasant Party that it prevents the sentencing of the war-criminals.-

The people's Tribunal has commenced to work effectively on . . . . . .

All the judges are members of the National-Democratic Front and members of the party of Mr.Gh. Tatarescu.-

It is easy to be understood why the condemnation have been made with passion.-

Only those have been brought before the People's Tribunal who are said to be guilty in respect of crimes concerning the individuals.-

But the entire country has expected in vain, that those, who are foremostly guilty for the country having been thrown into war against the United Nations, be brought before this forum of justice.-

Not even the former marshal Antonescu, Mihai Antonescu, General Pantazi, General Piki Vasiliu and Colonel Elefterescu, which were arrested on August 23.1944 and surrendered to the Soviet authorities, have been get sentenced.-

Not one of the ministers, who held office on June 22. 1941, the date when war was declared, has yet been brought before the tribunal.-

Not even General Dobre was found to be guilty, being the last dictator of the Roumanian economy, who has alienated our economy in favour of Germany.-

Titus Dragos, the former under-secretary in the Ministry for "Roumanization", who is responsible for the elaboration and application of the most inhuman procedures against the jewish population, deprived of all its properties, has recently been put in liberty.-

Most of the former ministers of the Antonescu government have not yet been summoned before the investigation cabinets of the People's Tribunal.-

Another purpose, however, was set about: compromizing the army.- Many Generals have been arrested, in order to be put again in liberty, some after having been detained for a long period, as no proof for their guilt could be produced.-

Thus, there has been arrested General Carloant, charged by the communist press to be responsible for the deportation of 14.000 jews, 11.000 of which were killed, and for many other crimes.(Article of "Victoria" 3.1944).-

But after many months of imprisonment, the general is put in liberty, and his files are closed.-

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Examples like this one, could be continued to be enumerated.- The communist propaganda requests by means of radio, press, meetings and other means the democratizing of the army, encouraging - amongst other things - arrestations of officers etc. to be tried before the People's Tribunal.-

The sentencing is made in summary proceedings, conducted in a passionate manner.- The defendants are not able to procure evidence.- They have not the right of self-defence.-

In order to be able to act as defenders, the lawyers must present a certificate of the layers' association Ilfov - which is conducted by an interim commission, denominated by the communist Minister of Justice - this as an evidence that there is no procedure pending in respect of his being purged from the Tribunals, and there is always somebody who is raising objections.-

Those lawyers, who commenced pleading before securing the aforementioned certificate, were sent to the purging commission of the lawyers' association, as happened in the case of Mr.C.Simionescu, the former Dean of the lawyers' association at Iasi, who has been the former defender of all those innocent and unfortunate people, arrested during the three dictatorships.-

The sacred right of defence, officially granted also to the criminals of Belsen and sentenced by a Tribunal of the United Nations, is attacked even by Lucretiu Patrascanu, Minister of Justice, who in a speech held on September 16 1945 at the occasion of the beginning of the judicial year, blamed those 73 lawyers, who willingly defended the defendants accused in the law suit "Organization T" (Article in the Timpul of Sept.18.1945), a case dealt with, in another Memorandum.-

On the occasion of the first great law suit, dealing with the Odessa reprisals and the deportation of jews to Transnistria, a group of workers performed a demonstration in the street of the capital, carrying with them placards and shouting that they demand the death of the accused.

The demonstrators stopped in front of the building where the meetings of the People's Tribunal were held, and through the open windows of this building yell the shrieks of the multitude into the rooms.-

The president of the Tribunal does not take any measures, he does not even order that the windows be closed.-

In such a situation, the former Dean C. Simionescu, interrupts his speech and leaves the Court, after having been obliegd to discuss violently with the President

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of the Court, who accorded him only a few minutes to defend the case of an accused - who was to be sentenced to death.-

The Public opinion informed only by the interested reports of the communist press, is suspicious about the innocence of some of the accused, against whom even the probatories related by the communist press, are not conclusive.-

The public opinion doubts especially the faireness of the way the justice is being conducted.-

But the wisdom of our young King is awake.-

The capital condemnations are being commuted into sentences for life imprisonements, especially that such capital condemnations, are not in the tradition of our nation.

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The legionnaires (The Roumanian Fascists)

The Legionnaires were representing in Roumania national-socialist.

The National Peasant Party, faithful to its democratic principles has been the most determined adversary of the legionnaires.

In December 1937 parliamentary elections took place, Mr.Gh. Tătărescu at that time being the Prime Minister of a separate liberal Cabinet.The way Mr.Gh.Tătărescu behaved towards the ex King of Roumania Charles II, showed that his Government was the King's personal cabinet.

The National Peasant Party has begun the electoral campaign with a view to defeating the Government, in order to put an end to the non-democratic regime of ex King Charles the Second.

To that end, an electoral agreement intervened between the Opposition Parties, including the National Peasants' Party and that of the Legionnaires, so that the struggle of the Oppisition to ensure free elections,might have a greater success.Each Party had presented separate lists and fought in strict accordance with their own ideas.

The result was that Mr.Gh.Tătărescu was defeated in these elections.The formal dictatorship of the former King was begun with Mr.Gh.Tătărescu's assistance.

Both during the elections and afterwards,the National Peasant Party has never ceased to fight vigourously the legionnaires.The electoral manifesto stands there as a proof.

Nothing can better clarify the position of the National Peasants Party towards the legionnaires, than the statement, as a witness of Mr.Juliu Maniu, in the legal action against Corneliu Codreanu, chief of the legionnaires, as in that action the chief of the National Peasants PartyNational Peasant Party, had been summoned as witness of the accused.

Here are parts of his deposition, after shorthand notes, published by "Dreptatea" (The Justice) -our Party's newspaper-dated 8th December 1944.

Codreanu's question:"Why did we accept that Non-agression Pact (during the elections of 1937 -Our Note-) since our political ideas greatly differ?"

Mr.Iuliu Maniu's reply:"It is true that there is a great difference between the ideology of our parties and I think that there is no greater adversity between two parties than that between ours.

Our Party is a democratic party and as far as I am concerned I am a fanatical adherent of democracy and it is my belief that only thanks to it can a nation develop.....

....whilst the Iron Guard (legionnaires Our Note) is totalitary, against democracy,and is after a kind of dictatorship and I am a fanatical adversary of dictatorship regardless of its form.

As far as foreigh policy is concerned I am favourable to cooperation with France and England, with the Western democracies and with Russia,because this is the way of ensuring the existence and integrity of our State in the appalling conflagration that is drawing nigh (the lawsuit was in 1938-Our Note).

Mr.Codreanu is favourable to a foreign policy with Germany which I think is dangerous for our country.

Mr.Codreanu's Party is an anti-semit party, ours is not an anti-semit one..............besides this there is also a difference in the methods used by us in political fighting".

If Mr.Iuliu Maniu, a witness proposed by Corneliu Codreanu for his defence, has been able to speak out thus, it is evident for any bona fide man there has been and still is an abyss between these two parties.

When the legionnaires came to power -September 6,1940, together with the ex Marshal (Antonescu) the members of the National Peasant Party were seriously persecuted.

The Secretary General of this Party, Virgil Madgearu, a University Professor, ex-Minister and the most brilliant and clever economist,was treacherously murdered by the legionnaires in November 1940 in accordance with orders issued by Berlin.

During the 4 and a half months legionnary dictatorship, not a single communist was murdered, no one imprisoned.The legionnaires were treating gently the communists as by so doing they were trying to attract the la bourers.

The legionnaires' rebellion in January 1941 was suppressed in blood by Antonescu and ever since the legionnaires were considered as outlaws.

The events of August 23,1944, found the legionnary movement politically exhausted. The bona fide elements having close connections with the legionnaires, abandoned them immediately after the rebellion and the assassinations committed previously and which were repudiated by honest people.

On the other hand, many were those who could realize, even long before August 23, 1944, the disaster into which the Germans had dragged us and who -the Germans- became, thanks to the help of these legionnaires, masters and leaders of the Roumanian foreign policy. That is why the legionnaires were mercilessly hated, they always being vigourously combatted by the National Peasant Party.

After August 23,1944,responsible politicians took a great interest in the Roumanian youth problem -a real drama-that had been attracted in great numbers by the legionnaires,and which, at last, showed, partly, a remorse for the wrong way it was dragged into.It is evident that the students and the intellectual youth could not be excluded, in great masses,from the political activity in a country where illeteracy in bloom.The youth that will conscientiously verify their feelings, will have the possibility of entering the democratic parties but only and if these will have confidence in them.

This was the general policy of our political parties.The Chairman of the National Peasant Party has made a public statement with reference to this.

There is no doubt there are a few more legionnaires even after August 23,1944,faithful to their political creed, but their number does not count nor did they indulge in political activities.

Certain precaution had to be taken.As soon as Mr.Penescu, repre-

sentative of the National Peasant Party,was appointed as Minister of the Interior,the legionnaires were arrested in greater numbers.This fact is also confirmed by Mr.B.Davis,correspondent of the "Gazette de Lausanne" by his wire Nr.71 of November 18,1944.

During the four weeks the National Peasant Party had the Ministry of the Interior, over 3.000 legionnaires were arrested, some of them having been sent to prisoners' camps.

Great difficulties had to be overcome since at the time the legionnaires were at the power they had destroyed all secret reports of the Police and Security Depart.concerning the activity ofthe legionnaires.Under Antonescu the new reports having been taken away by the interested parties.Mr.N.Penescu was therefore obliged to apply to the professional bodies such as that of the lawyers, engineers,architects and physicians, requesting them to let him have a list of the legionnaires.("Victoria" newspaper - 28th November 1944).

These precautionm steps have been extended also against the members of the A.C.Cuza Roumanian Fascist Party.

The subsequent events have demonstrated that there was no more a legionnaire danger.No sabotage, no legionnary activity were reported, although the Communist Police has tried to stage up something like that.

This had to be pointed out that communist propaganda, faithful to its methods according to which the agitations always create a favourable development of communist virus,is continually agitating the so-called legionnaire danger, of which they also contrive an arm against Mr.Iuliu Maniu, who is attacked on account of the so-called "agreement" with the legionnaires on the occasion of the elections in 1937 and of his attitude in September 1944.

Communist duplicity in connection with legionnarism and the legionnaires.

There is a repetion of History. In 1940 the legionnaires were endeavouring to approach the communists.In 1944-45 the latter are after legionnaire adhesions.

Dictators understand each other perfectly well.

In order to attract the legionnaires they begin by creating a terroristic atmosphere round them.

A maddening press campaign, with serious accusations brought to the Ministers of the Interior N.Penescu and General Rădescu,is followed after March 6, 1945 by new arrests and ill-treatment and people sent to prisoners' camps.

Whilst reproaches were being made to the Minister of the Interior that he had adopted to gentle an attitude towards the legionnaires, the communists did not carry out his orders aiming at the taking into custody,of the legionnaires.

The Direction of Police and Security reported to the Minister of the Interior (Nr.26.966 of November 16, 1944) that Victor Duga, Prefect of the District of Constantza, installed by force by the communists, issued orders that only the legionnaires belonging to the categories set forth by him were to be arrested,but not a single legionnairem in that district could be included in those categories.

The communist Ministers have made the epuration of the State employees with a view to attracting the legionnaires, as it is known that notorious legionnaires entering their names in the communist party not only escape punishment but they are also promoted..Mr.Alexandru Popa, formerly a Peasant Party member,belonging to the "Right" movement,first "A. de C." to Titu Dragoş,formerly Under Secretary of State of the Romanization Depart,not only escaped being dismissed but although he ought to have been dismissed for his injust attitude towards the Jews at the time he was Director General of the C.N.R.(O high office for Nationalization and Romanization),but he also was lately appointed Secretary General to the Roumanian Armistice Commission.Of course, prior to this appointment he became a communist and a syndicalist too.

Mr.Stelian Popescu and Mr.I.Gârbă, legionnaires, formerly Director General and Director at the Ministry of Finance, who had bean arrested and imprisoned by Mr.N.Penescu, Minister of the Interior designated by the National Peasant Party,have lately returned to their jobs and suddenly became ardent communists.

M.rN.Penescu and then General N.Rădescu, as Ministers of the Interior,have created various commissions to select the legionnaires already arrested.The members of these commissions were representatives of all the Parties.The delegates of the Communist Party have been most kind to the legionnaires.

The Press and the leaders of the Communists state that the legionnaires who entered the Communist Party were errands and now they have realized how wrong they were as legionnaires.

On 18th August 1945, a number of 383 legionnaires of the Prisoners' Camp at Caracal,among whom P.P.Panaitescu, University Professor, arrested by order of the Minister of the Interior(designated by the Peasants' Party) in November 1944, have been set at liberty after having, of course, signed a paper that they would become communists. They were followed by many more others.

Recently,Pătraşcu, a legionnaire,was arrested.He was supposed to be the present leader of the legionnaire movement.The communists are now endeavouring to attract him,by forcing his conscience.

All these negotiations were dealt by Mr.Teohari Georgescu, personally, the Communist Minister of the Interior.As soon as these converted people entered the Communist Party, the signed a manifesto against Mr.Iuliu Maniu.Communist duplicity is evident.

The present Minister of the Interior has allotted to Mr.N. Pătraşcu a sumptuous villa on the Jianu Drive, the most beautiful quarter in Bucharest.

Horia Sima's representative (Codreanu's successor) at the head of the legionnaire movement),receives in his new abode the legionnaire leaders,trying to convince them to adhere to the movement of a party, so-called National-Christian, which the communists wish to create with legionnaire elements.

This party will be another counterpart-second self-of the communist party, similar to "Ploughmen's Front", "Patriots' Union", "Apărarea Patriotică"(Patriotic Defence) and so on.

The role of this new party is that of gathering all the legionnaires to make them solidary and help the communists

in the elections.

The danger of this policy is quite evident.

The legionnaire movement will survive.Thus the antisemit movement will again spring up which will again be a weapon of political movement, and a very dangerous one.

The problems of the future do not interest the communists, nor does democracy interests them.What they care for is their own immediate interest.

The Roumanian People are reactioning.

The Roumanian people will know how to react against the communist terror.- But the presence of foreign occupation troops in the country, makes impossible any action against the communist government.-

Nevertheless, the Roumanian nation, avoids no occasion to manifest its anti-communist sentiments.-

His Majesty the King is symbolizing the Nation, in the fight against commnnism, because our young Sovereign pays attention only there where the truth is to be found.-

It is therefore natural that He is the object of testimonies of love and devotion of His people.-

Whenever the people could freely manifest their sentiments in the Royal Palace's Square, delirious cheers acclaimed His Majesty the King and His August Mother.-

Repeated cheers greeted His Majesty's apparition on the cinema's screens, whilst the communist personnalities especially Mrs. Ana Paucker and Mr. Petru Groza, are recieved with grumbles.-

That is why have been suppressed all the scenes in which appears in the newsreels His Majesty the King.-

At the Royal Palace, there is a register in which everybody may sign.- The population of Bucharest understood to make good use of this possibility, in order to prove its love towards His Majesty, the One towards whom are directed all the hopes of a life of freedom.-

To succeed to subscribe the register, people have been crowded like before the food-supplies shops.-

The communists observing the fact, in order to intimidate the people, sent bully-gangs against these innocent citizens, who have been carried even to the Police Headquarters.-

When the F.N.D. are speaking about the King, they are gratifying Him as the "King of Democratic Roumania", desirous to be understood by this, that they are not accepting Him, if He does not accept them.- Because "Democratic Roumania" means in the communist language "Communist Roumania".-

On the occasion of the F.N.D. manifestation, when being on their way and passing on the street in front of the Royal Palace, several officers and civilians were acclaiming the King.- They have been practically ready to be lynched by communist workmen.- Such scenes happened for several times.

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Mr. Maniu's personality is also the centre of sympathetic preoccupations and manifestations of devotion from everybody in, and outside the country.-

On the streets, in the trains, in the street-cars, people are bursting out against the Groza government, and especially against the communists, in spite of the persecutions practised by the police.-

At a foot-ball match which took place between a Roumanian and a communist-Yougoslave team, an immense crowd sang the National Hymn, and have acclaimed His Majesty, who was not even present.- As a result of it, the communists have beaten the referee, considering him to favour the communist team.-

Sunday the 28th of October 1945, at another foot-ball match between the Roumanian and the communist-Bulgarian teams, a likewise incident ended with machine-gun fire and bloodshed.-

The crowd shouted "Long live the King" and "Down with Groza" tearing the F.N.D.'s placards.-

At the Priests' General Congress, which took place in October 1945, in Bucharest, various hostile manifestations against the communists, and immeasurable love manifestations for the Sovereign were to be heard.-

The Government very shocked by these happenings, considered necessary to cancell all purgings regarding the priests, believing that by such measures they will at least win a few adhesions amongst the altar servants.-

The Minister of Justice is attacking vehemently the magistracy as being reactionary, threatening it with the purging, which stands like Damocles' sword over the Justice's scales.-

We know that by the word "reactionary" is meant nothing else but someone who is against the communists.-

But there is also the syndicate of the magistracy - yes, we have also such a marvel here - which upsets the communist committees, deciding the elections by secret vote.-

Before this, the public lawyers syndicate elected a committee, excluding from it all the communists.-

Wherever it may be proceeded to elections by secret vote, the communists are being overwhelmed.-

The working class also begins to move.- At the tobacco factury Belvedere, a strike has been registrated.-

The whole country requests the liberty of expression, by means of the liberty of the press and free meetings, as well as the guarantee of individual liberty and religious

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freedom.- The Groza Government, has been dismissed by His Majesty the King, before the 23rd of August 1945, cause for which the Sovereign refused to participate at the military parade which took place on the occasion of the 23rd of August 1944, anniverssary.-

Thus, the principal factor of the events which were celebrated, was missing.-

The Army and her Generals, did not accept to participate to the military parade, but after the King's express order.-

As a consequence of these troubles, the Government did not leave any longer the command in the hands of General Mihaescu, the Military Commander of the Capital, and put under arrest, General Marinescu, the Anti-Aircraft Commander.-

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The Interference of the U.R.S.S.

in the Internal Policy of Roumania.-

Mr. Molotov Commissary for the U.R.S.S. foreign policy, made categorical declarations, that the U.R.S.S. will not interfere in the internal policy of Roumania.-

However, the facts denied immediately, this good intention.- The Russian magazine "The war and the working class", which is an organ of political directives, publishes in its number of the 15th of November 1944, a long article, reproduced by the Roumanian communist editorial "Scânteia" on December 6.1944, in which is being largely examined the internal Roumanian policy.-

The author of the article, Mr.V. Linetzki is vehemently attacking the National-Peasant Party, which he is accusing of reactionarism, as making the "dishonest play" of the "international combinations", and that by wishing a parliamentary life, is forging intrigues against the F.N.D.-

But that what is more significant is the affirmation that at the great national-peasant's meeting which has been held in Bucharest in October 1944, participated also Horia Sima's (chief of the legionaries, recto the Roumanian nazists), "boys", in green uniforms, who shouted "Long live Horia Sima".-

This fact is totally invented.- In the Roumanian press, not even in the one of the Communist Party, nobody dared to make such a serious and untrue affirmation.-

Further more, Mr. Linetzky attacks the Sanatescu government, constituted only since 10 days, which he is considering as a "succes of the Roumanian reactionaries".-

Beginning with the 24th of September 1944, appears in Bucharest the newspaper "The new language", Russian political newspaper, written in Roumanian, organ of the Political Front Direction of the Red Army".-

If we run through the collection of this newspaper, a permanent interference of this official Russian organ in the internal policy of our country, beginning with the second month of its appearance, is to be observed.-

Full articles are pleading for the army's participation to the "internal political fight", declaring at the same time, that the "actual duty of the Army's Divisions is to support and protect the Groza Government (19 July a.c.) this being an essential condition for the Roumanian Army, that wherever they would discover reactionary traces (here is to be understand the National-Peasant and the Liberal parties) to in-

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terfere without pity, in order to extirpate them",(viz:article "The Army at democracy's service" from the 13th of August 1945)

Starting from the principle that "Roumania needs a democratical order, but not as the historical parties (N.PP. and L.P.) understand it, presented in the number of February 24.1945, precizing also that "U.R.S.S. is deeply interested that Roumania should become a true democratic country" (in the Russian meaning: communist).-

The newspaper "The new language" feels " a real repulsion " for the national-peasant demonstrations (Article "What is not indifferent to the U.R.S.S." from the 1st of March 1945).-

Considering the governments that were in power after the 23rd of August 1944, the above mentioned newspaper is wruting: "The former governments were composed by reactionary politicians and adventurers" (15th of March 1945).-

On the 24th of March 1945, "The new language" is declaring, that the government Groza is "a government which is enjoying all our support", so as to state on the 2nd of April 1945 that "to Roumania presided by P.Groza, U.R.S.S. is granting the whole support".-

Mr. A.Visinski, took the responsability to express the official point of view of the Russian Government, as regards Roumania's internal policy.-

His speech held at the A.R.L.U.S., a few days after the formation of the Groza Government, was reproduced by all the Roumanian newspapers on the 12th of March 1945.-

Speaking about the National Peasant Party and the Liberal one, Mr. Visinski described them as "the so called historical parties, or better suited would be to call them the archaic parties, or better said parties belonging already to the archives", which, "if they will not get silent, then through our joined efforts we will force them to be silent".-

Curious enough is the remark that Mr. Visinski is reproaching to the historical parties, the fact that they did not accept to enter the government Petre Groza.-

Being treated with such a hardiness, it is a question of how to explain the fact that the historical parties'collaboration was still so insistently requested ?

In the chapter "the suppression of the right of meetings for the National Peasant Party, and the terrorizing of its members", we showed how Captain Petrov of the Soviet Army, assisted by the Roumanian Secret Service's organs, arrested and terrorized the young national-peasant member C.I.,

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from Craiova, during September 1945, in order to oblige him to enter the Russian information secret service, giving him the mission to join the executive committee of the youth association English Roumania and American Roumania, and to procure informations about what is going on there; as well to inform the Soviet secret service, about Mr. Penescu's (the General Secretary of the National Peasant Party) activities.-

And now another fact:

U.R.S.S. has appointed school inspectors for the Roumanian schools.- One of these, Filipeac Dumitru, who speaks Roumanian, made from the loth to the 12th of November 1944, an inspection to the schools of the villages Ulmeni, Spantov, Chiselef, Manastirea and Coconi, in the district Ilfov, (Bucharest surroundings) taking indirectly a special interest, if the schools are endowed with Soviet propaganda material (Report of the General Inspectorate of the Rural Police Force Nr. 48159.20.11.1944)

The whole Capital has been suprised to find out that the partizans of the Ploughmen's Front, have been brought to Bucharest,for the Congress of this political organization, held in June 1945, by the Red Army's trucks, driven by Russians soldiers, and having Russian placards on them.-

In the chapter " The Administrative Action of Communisation", we have shown that groups of 10-12 Russian soldiers, have joined the workmen at Galatzi and Constantza, in order to help by force to install the District's Prefects.-

Even in Bucharest, Soviet soldiers, could be seen participating at the manifestations on the streets, together with the workers.- Russian officers have held speeches at the University's Square, to the manifestating workmen.-

A Soviet mayor, held a speech at the sitting of the constitution of the dramatical actors' syndicate.-

Such facts happened only during the first months after August 23.1944.-

The indubitable interference, the most serious in its consequences, was caused by the part assumed by Mr.Visinski in the troubles out of which was realized the F.N.D. Government Petru Groza, imposed to by the U.R.S.S., in the manner shown in another chapter.-

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REPORT

October 18 1945

Upon your report, to visit the district of Petroşani - Petrilă-Lonea in order to verify the informations given by the Rural Police Station of Hunedoara, I have the hounour to report the following:

1) As regards the information in connection with the arrival at the quarters of the Communists' Party in the village of Petroşani of two Russian trucks loaded with arms and ammunitions, which were distributed to all communist sectors in the valley of Jiului, this distribution has been made sometimes by Tatu Cristache, a lawyer and a former activ lieutenant of the rural police force, who is having his actual residence at Sarmisegetuza.

These statements reported in the informative note referred to above, could not be verified at Petroşani, this place being in charge of a local police squad, not of a rural police station.

2) The informative report Nr.1272 of September 21.1945 states that the communists' organisation of Petrilă has received 12 guns "Z.B.", one automatic German pistol and one pistol "DRIŢA" together with the respective ammunition. This report could be verified as follows:

These arms were to be found at the quarters of the communists' Party and in the moment when the civilian guards were dissolved, these arms should have been handed to the station of the local rural police force. This order, however, has not been executed as those members of the civilian guards who belonged to the Communists' Party, and especially Taler Leopold, the former local head of the civilian guards, refused to deliver them.

The arms were kept at the station of the rural police force till the dissolution of the cityens guards. At that station the guards possess even to-day an office, consisting of one room, and a special place for the stocks of victuals, the police station itselfconsisting of but two rooms.

Taler Leopold and David Alexandru kept their arms, the rest of them being maintained at the quarters of the Communist Party.

On the occaision of the Agrarian Reform 14 individuals were selected from the village of Petroşani, that went to Petroşani and brought with them these 12 guns "Z.B.", the German pistol and the pistol "DRIŢA", in total 14 pieces. These guns were loaded on a unknown truck which stood waiting at the boundary of the village of Petroşani. This statement was even confirmed by declarations made by David Alexandru, one of these 14 individuals referred to above.

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David Alexandru from Petrila further explained that he got in touch with the Petroşani Sector of the Communists'Party and that he was given to understand that the arms will not be handed over to anybody,on the contrary,endeavours being made to collect additional ones.

David Alexandru also stated that they have receide ammunition for the guns"Z.B.",and that bullets for the pistol"BRETA" will be sent in the near future.

The chief of the rural police station stated that Bucovschi, Taler,David Alexandru,Fenes and other members of the Communists'Party are in possession of pistols.

They have confiscated also the pistol of the engineer Bocanciosu in charge of the Petrila mine,that pistol being the property of the Mining Company.

The communistic organisation of Petrila has approached the Home Ministery at Bucarest to grant them the right to keep the civilian guards at Petrila and Lonea and that these should not be dissolved.In the case that the Home Ministry rejects this request,the communists intend to ask that the arms remain qith the committee of the civilian guards for combating the provisions speculation.

3) At Petrila-Cimpa arms are being in the possession of the brothers Ion Răduca,who threatend with them on September 8.1945 the forester Balaj Petre in the woods of Petrila,when they were evertaken when cutting 6 pine-trees.

4) At the village of Lonea the former civilian guards dispose of 9 rifles"Z.B.",said to have been received from the Petroşani sector of the Communists'Party,a statement,however,that could not be verified.

5) It has been also asserted by a member of the Social-Democratic Party,a reliable employee of the Lonea Company,that cases trunks with ammunition have been received on September 27.1945 by Schmida,secretary of the Communists'Party,from the Petroşani sector of the Communists'Party.

6) The Communists'Party has also confiscated 3 fowling-pieces belonging to Staiculescu Emilian,engineer and previously director of the Lonea Company;one rifle with ammunition belonging to a forester at Auşet.All of these arms have been taken to the quarters of the Communists'Party.

7) At the village of Vulcan ,Macavei,the secretary of the Communists'Party,against recepts confiscated from the lo-th batalion of the military Reg.Vânători de Munte,6 rifles "Z.B." and several pistols and brougt them at the quarters of the Communists'Party. Macavei refused to hand them over to the rural police force after the dissolution of the civilian guards,sustaining that he would return them to those units the lo-th battalion of the military Reg.Vânători de Munte wherefrom he brought them.

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8) At the village of Aninoasa, the secretary of the Communists' Party has confiscatode the arms from the guards and keeps them at the quarters of the Communists' Party.

9) Mr. Pătrașcu of the Communists' Party has informed the chie of the Vulcan section that in case he discovers any armed civilian is authorised to arrest and forward him on trial to the Martial Court.

1o) Amongst those who carry arms many have no official authorisation to have these arms. They merely dospose of some kind of evidence issued either by she secretary of the Communusts' Party at Petroşani, or, by the secretary of the "Agrarian Front". The latter has issued such authorisations to a member of the communal guards at Malca and to Aurel Saturun, the mayor of the village of Merişor. Two of such authorisation are to be found in the files of the rural police station at Hunedoara.

11) The armament factory of Cugir has received a "strictly confidencial order" from the War Ministry, according to which all arms stored in the factory have to be made impracticable by extracting the percussion-caps. in order to avoid the improper use of the arms and to prevent any possibility of harms' Withdrawls.

It can not be ascertained by those who are responsible for the informations rendered here and it can not be verified on the spot as to whether these armed groups have been equiped with arms, either with or without the assistance of the Soviet army.

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P A R T IV.

Annexes to the Synthesis: Fulfillment of the Armistice Convention and Economical Crisis.

The Execution of the Military Clauses of the Armistice Convention between Roumania on the one hand and the U.R.S.S., the United Kingdom and the United States of America on the other hand.

In respect of the execution of the margin milityra clauses imposed upon Roumania there must be distinguished two principal categories of obligations:

A.- Obligations stipulated in a clear and explicit manner by means of the text of the convention, and

B.- Obligations imposed upon Roumania by the Allied(Sovietic) Control Commission in an interpretative, unilateral and one can say even arbitrary way.-

From the latter there have derived a number of litigations which have tobe considered by the representatives of all the governments that have signed the Armistice Convention with Roumania.-

A.

Military Obligations clearly and explicitly stipulated in the text of the Armistice Convention.-

1. Conditions having an operative character.

These conditions are comprised in the article 1 and 2 of the Convention.- Obligations deriving from article 1.- The Convention having been signed on Sept.12.1944, that is to say 20 days after the termination of the hostilities against the United Nations and the rupture of the relations with Germany and her satellites,is containing two distinct parts: the first part being dedicated to the state of facts on Sept.12.1944, and the second part in which are being stated the new obligations.-

In the first part it is aknowledged:

" Commencing August 24.1944, 4 a.m., Roumania has ceased all military operations against U.R.S.S. on all theatres of the war, has withdrawn from the war against the United Nations, has ruptered the relations with Germany and her satellites and has entered into war against Germany and Hungary."

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In the second part are established the new obligations: "Roumania will carry on the war at the side of the Allied Powers against Germany and Hungary aiming at the restoration of her independence and sovereignity for which purpose she will place at the disposition of the Allies at least 12 divisions of infantry together with all technical auxiliary services." " The military operations of the forces of the Roumanian Army, as well as those of the naval and air forces, against Germany and Hungary, will be conducted under the general leadership of the Supreme Allied (Soviet) Commandment."

Article 2 reads inter alia: "The Government and the Supreme Command of Roumania are bound to take the necessary measures in order to disarm and to intern the forces of the German army . . . . ."

The execution of the military clauses with an operative character, as comprised in the articles 1 and 2 of the Convention, having been made integrally, constitute the guaranty that Roumania will receive from her Great Allies the equitable appraisement for the sacrifices and efforts made by her, under the most difficult conditions.-

1.- The Action of purging the territory from German troops.

The subverting of our political and military situation, as ordered by H.M. the King in the evening of August 23.1944, found our armies to be placed under the German command, separated, mixed with German troops and entagled in heavy fights.-

In the interior of Roumania, where German representatives were found to be implanted at all military, economical and transport positions, there were groups of more important German forces at the following spots: in Bucharest, in the oil fields district (numerous heavy batteries and anti-aircraft) in the district of Buzau, (important groups of troops and formations of the air-force) on the sea-side of the Dobrudcha etc. and groups of minor importance of the German forces were scattered all over the country.- The total number of the German forces on the Roumanian soil, on the front and in the interior, after the dismanteling of the Roumanian front of all the disponibilities, especially the tank-units, as a consequence of the Soviet offensive between the Weichsel and the woody Car-

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pathian mountains, amounted to over 650.000 men.-

The great Soviet offensive, launched on August 19.1944 on our front, succeeded in achieving two important inlets:

one in Bessarabie in the direction of Bolgrad, having a length and depth of approximately 100 km,

another one in the district of Iassy - Tg.Frumos, having a length of 50 km and a depth of 100 km.

A re-establishment of the situation might have only been possible on the following line: Moldavian Carphates, the fortified position F.N.B. (where there were established 3 detachments occupying the casemates), the Danube Delta.-

By the withdrawl of Roumania from the war against the United Nations, there was no possibility left to uphold the Soviet offensive on this line.- The German Command previously requested that all our troops that could be disposed of, should be concentrated on this position.- These troops consisted of reserve and recruits' divisions (enjoying only a 2-3 months' drill) which were to be found chiefly in Oltenia and in Western Muntenia, and of artillery reserve material.-

Preparatory measures had been taken but had not been put into effect, because H.M. the King opposed in due time this project to engage these troops on our Eastern front.-

With these available troops (namely: 3 divisions, having war-footing, 15 recruits' divisions having less than war-footing and reduced equipment, various isolated units and auxiliary formations, units of the air force and anti-aircraft artillery etc.) commenced the operations of purging the territory from German troops on the morning of August 24.1944.-

After heavy fighting and under very difficult conditions especially in Bucharest and around the capital, at Ploesti and the entire oil fields district, in the zone of T.Severin, Orsova, Gura Vaiei, in the Dobrudcha, in the zone of Calarasi, along the Danube and in the zone of Tg.Ocna-Moinesti, it has been made possible, that the entire Roumanian territory be purged from German troops within 8 days.-

By the subversion of the military situation, the German front troops were compelled to surrender (divisions of Bessarabia) or to withdraw in haste to Transylvania in order to form a new front.-

During the purging operation, which ended on the 31rst.of

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August 1944, our troops captured 53.159 men (amongst which the re were 14 generals and 1224 officers). In addition thereto the Germans lost more than 5.000 dead.-

Our own losses were high enough(for reason of enforced drill and reduced equipment) amounting to 28.053 men, that is 7,6% of the total forces engaged.-

The purging operations were exclusively carried on by the Roumanian troops being under the command of the Roumanian General Staff (excepting the engagement of some Soviet tank spear-heads in the zone of Slobozia and Paulesti-Nord Ploesti, against the last German resistance). These operations were effected prior to the establishment of the obligations as subsequently imposed by article 2 of the Armistice Convention of Sept.12.1944.-

Roumania is the only country previously satellite of Germany, which has eliberated her territory from important units of German troops, right from the beginning, by its own means and prior to being compelled thereto by the Convention.-

The strategic consequences of the withdrawal of Roumania from the war against the United Nations and the expulsion of the German troops from Roumania are of an exeptional value:

a.- The German High Command was deprived of the possibility to re-establish and to rest its Southern wing on the Moldavian Carpathians front, on the fortifications between the turning of the Carpathian mountains and of the Danube (Focsani-Namoloasa - Braila) and the Danube Delta , a front which represented a natural and concrete fortified bastion, incomparably superior to any other Western positions, being as well also the ultimate solution of the maintenance of the German sovereignty in the Balkans(Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia).

b.- Therby it was further made impossible to occupy the turning of the Carpathian Mountains and to rest the front against the massif which separated the bazin of the river Vardar from the Yugoslavian Morava, and afterwards its resting against the Adriatic coast.-

c.- Thereby was reversed the proportion of power on the southern front with a total of approximately 140 divisions (viz: 20 Roumanian front divisions,plus 8 divisions in the interior of the country,plus 20 recruits' divisions, 24 German divisions of

the Roumanian front, which having their retreat cut by the Roumanian action, have been captured or dispursed by the Soviet forces, plus the value of other 6 divisions representing German units dispursed or captured by us in the interior of the country, to which must be added 17 German divisions of the Balkans and approximately 20 Bulgarian divisions, which were compelled to suspend action at the side of Germany as well as approximately 30 divisions which were added to the side of the United Nations (Roumanians and Bulgarians);

d.- Thereby depriving Germany from fuel and raw materials, indispensable to the continuation of the war;

e.- Thereby making it impossible for the Germans to destroy the ways of communication and Roumania's resources, which thus have served for the war necessities against Germany;

f.- Thereby determining Finland's and Bulgaria's withdrawal from the war against the United Nations.-

Operative contribution of the Roumanian Army in the war against Germany and Hungary.

We have seen that the operative contribution of the Roumanian army in the war against Germany and Hungary which has started even in the morning of August 24.1944 by the operations of the entire forces our country disposed of in the interior, for the purging of Roumania from German troops, thereby preventing the occupation of the Carpathian Mountains - the door between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube (position F.N.B.)- the Delta Danube, or the occupation of the entire turning of the Carpathians, then the massif between the bazin of the river Vardar and Moravia and finally the Adriatic coast.-

From the very first moment of the action against Germany and Hungary and prior to the determination of the operation of purging Roumania from German troops, the Roumanian Supreme Command has proceeded to the enforcement (24/8 - 7/9 1944 -with all big units that could be disposed of - with the troops dedicated to protect the nothern frontier of Transylvania (rendered to Hungary according to the Dictate of Vienna) and the West and South of the Banat, in order to prevent the occupation of the

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Carpathian turning point by the German-Hungarian troops and in order to facilitate thereafter the advance of the Soviet-Roumanian troops into the Panonian fields.-

The protection of the frontiers was effected by the 1 st. Army composed of 10 infantry divisions (of which 6 had war strength and 4 consisted of recruits) with various units and independent formations and with 3 squadrons of the air-force.- Our troops destined for protection entered into action at the frontier inlet within 48 hours, thereby closing all important directions leading to the region that remained to Roumania of the restant part of Transylvania.-

More important fights took place in the North-eastern zone of Brasov, inlet of Sarmasel (Somesul-Mare) and in the Upper-Danubian district (Orsova). Our own losses in these operations amounted to 1605 men.-

Following the termination of the operations of purging the country of the German troops, there commenced the enforcement of the protection of the frontiers, especially the support of the Soviet forces concentrated in Transylvania and Banat) Sept. 7-20.1944).These operations were carried on,through orders, exclusively given by the Roumanian Supreme Command.-

Although our divisions were put under the superior Soviet Command as from Sept.7 (Generals Managarov, Trofimenko, etc.) the Soviet commandments in fact, were not able to instal themselves and to commence conducting the operations until the arrival and engagement of the first Soviet units.-

These engagements took place on Sept.8.1944 in the district of Sf.Gheorghe (Division Tudor Vladimirescu) and on September 11.1944 on the middle Mures, where Soviet elements operated in the South-eastern direction of Turda.-

On Sept.14.1944 the first Soviet units began to operate between Turda and Tg.Mures as well as near Paulis (mouth of the defile of the Mures) where a bataillon and an artillery division participated in the heavy fights delivered by the troops and the students of the Roumanian military academies, and at last on Sept.15th at Timisoara, where for the first time a Soviet anti-tank regiment intervened.-

The Roumanian troops that fought during this phase under the direct command of the 1st. and 4th. Roumanian armies

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comprised 21 divisions (11 with war strength) amongst which were 3, constituting reserves of the Roumanian General Staff, various independent formations and units, a corps of the air-force with 20 squadrons(210 planes), 2 brigades of anti-air-craft (60 batteries), 12 river boats, 11 coast batteries and other auxiliary units.-

Apart the Transylvanian troops, in Oltenia, Muntenia and on the Danube, an army corpswith 4 infantry divisions, a regiment of frontier troops and 2 battalions of pioneers were operating, and in the interior of the country 4 divisions were held in reserve by the General Staff.- In Moldova were operating, in co-operation with the Soviet troops - a division of mountain troops, a tank unit and a heavy artillery regiment.-

The Roumanian operative co-operation in this region, might have been much more important if the Soviet Comandment, after the declaration of Roumania's ceasing the fire against the United Nations in the evening of August 23 1944, would not have continued to disarm and capture Roumanian troops, who had received orders to cease the fight against the Soviet army, or if at least on the 12th of Sept.1944, date of the signing of the Armistice, the Soviet Commandment reinstated the Roumanian Supereme Command to dispose of all the troops, materials and equipment retained after the 24th August 1944 4 a.m. - the official moment of Roumania's withdrawal from the war at the side of Germany and her entering into action at the side of the United - Nations.-

The formal promise made on Sept.25.1944 by Marshal Malinovsky to the Roumanian General Staff to give us back at least a part of the troops and the material captured after August 24.1944, 4 a.m., remained without any effect.-

The total number of the troops engaged during the period of supporting the concentrations of the Soviet forces, amounted to 242.917 men.-

There have taken place: an offensive battle in order to reduce the forces of the intruders from the Secui's inlet and two great defensive battles (Transylvania table-land and the fields of the Banat).

The battle for the reduction of the intruders' forces from the Secui's inlet (Sept. 3-14th 1944) led to an advance

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of our front of a length of 120 km.- The battle on the Transylvania table-land ended by the stopping of the German-Hungarian offensive on the line of the river Mures, thereby safeguarding the concentration of the Soviet troops in the zone South of Turda and in the North-East of Tg.Mures.-

The battle from Crisana and in the fields of the Banat regions, had the effect to stop the enemy's offensive in the defilé of the Crisul Negru, at the mouth of the river Crisul alb and of the Mures defilé at the wedges of the Banat's massif, thereby safeguarding the intact possession of the important factories of Resita and the concentration of the Soviet troops in the Banat (Paulis-Timisoara-Lugoj-Orsova).-

The contribution of the Roumanian forces in supporting the advancing and the concentration of the Soviet troops, has been confirmed by the Order of the Day of the 53rd Soviet Army group under General Managarov (Sept.23rd 1944).-

The particularly important contribution of the Roumanian army made possible the penetration of the Soviet forces in a distance of about 1000 km, in less than a month, and thus has speeded the opening into the Panonian Fields prior to the rain period.-

The advancing in the succeeding months was limited but to 150-200 km, despite our entire operative support.-

The front covered by our troops had initially a length of 1400 km out of which over 500 km were constituted by heavy sectors of battles.-

Our losses in this period (Sept. 7-20 1944) amounted to approximately 21.000 men.-

It must be emphasized that the entire and important contribution of the Roumanian troops during this period was effected by the initiative of the Roumanian Supreme Command.-

Until Sept.12th 1944, there did not exist the slightest formally contracted obligation for intervention of the Roumanian government.-

The first contacts between the sectors' Soviet Commandments (Generals Managarov, Trofimenko etc.) and the delegate of the Roumanian General Staff, took place but on Sept.7 1944 and the conditions of co-operation of the Roumanian army between the Roumanian General Staff and Marshal Malinovski ,

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with regard to the war against Germany and Hungary, were discused and established but on Sept.25.1944.-

As it has been explained above, the multitude of the Roumanian forces that was put into action against Germany and Hungary in this period, largely exceeded the obligations imposed to Roumania by the Armistice Convention and it might have been even more important if, also after August 23.1944, 4 a.m., the Soviet Commandment had not continued to capture Roumanian troop-units and equipment, which received already the order to cease any action against the Soviet army.-

The operative contribution of the Roumanian army after the date of September 20.1944, in conjunction with the Soviet-Roumanian operations, may be shortly summarized and split in the following phases:

Phase I : September 20-October 25.1944: The eliberation of nothern part of Transylvania.-

Phase II : October 1o.944-January 15.945: The Roumanian contribution with regard to the defeat of Hungary and the conquering of Budapest.-

Phase III: December 20.944-May 12.945: The Roumanian contribution with regard to the eliberation of Czecho-Slovakia and the securing of the victory over Germany.-

A synthesis of the importance of Roumania's contribution during these phases, can be realized by considering the length of the front lines exclusively entrusted to the Roumanian forces, front lines which were always subject to intense fightings (effort zones) and by the value of the troops engaged and the losses suffered:

During phase I , the Roumanian troops operated on a front line up to 200 km (150-200 km) with a total effective of 20 divisions, various independent units and a corps of the air-force(18 squadrons and 18 batteries of anti-aircraft),the losses amounting to more than 22.000 men.-

During phase II, the Roumanian troops operated on a front line up to 120 km (100-120 km) with a total of 16 divisions, 14 squadrons and 18 batteries of anti-aircraft, the losses amounting to more than 42.000 Roumanian officers and troops.-

During phase III, the Roumanian troops fought on a front line

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up to 130 km (50-130 km) with a total of 15 divisions, 20 squadrons and 73 batteries of anti-aircraft (508 guns) and with numerous independent units.- Our losses in this place amounted to more than 53.000 officers and troops.-

We shall make but a very condensed synthesis of the operations at which our troops took part during these phases.-

We leave it up to the experts to get deeply into these studies and to judge and appreciate the entire value of the Roumanian operative efforts.-

It has become clear, we think, in too evident a way, that the Roumanian army has largely exceeded the contribution, imposed upon it by article I of the Armistice Convention.-

This prompt and total contribution inscribes the Roumanian effort in the 4th plan of the European contribution in that period of time.- It has been achieved with the sole resources of the Roumanian army at a time, when heavy obligations were imposed upon Roumania by the Armistice Convention and when other important burdens by their unilateral interpretation have remarkably weakened the military power of Roumania.-

Phase I: September 20 - October 25.1944

The operations for the eliberation of the Northern part of Transylvania

In fact, this phase begins with the offensive on Sept. 5th 1944, which has led to the diminuation of the enemy's troops which were into the Secui's inlet, and it ends with the conquest of the ultimate village in the northern part of Transylvania - Carei Mari - on October 25.1944.-

The surpassing of the former frontier and the penetration into the Hungarian territory started really on October 1o. 1944.-

There were operating:

The 4th Roumanian Army with:

5 army corps commandments (later 4)

12 divisions (8 with war effective forces and 4 with training effectives)

1 tank detachment

- independent units and reinforcement elements

The 1st Roumanian Army with:

2 army corps commandments

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8 divisions (2 with war effective forces and 6 with training effectives.-

- independent units and reinforcement elements.-

The Air-Corps, with 18 squadrons (197 planes) and 1 motorized regiment of anti-aircraft with 18 batteries (122 guns).-

- The operations of the Roumanian armies, which were carried on in the outlines of the operations on the 2nd Ucranian Front, may be summarized as follows:
- the battle to force the defenses of the middle Mures, the eliberation of Cluj and the pursuit of the German-Hungarian forces up to the frontiers fixed by the Trianon treaty (sept 23 - October 25.1944),
- the battle for Oradia and Salonta (October 7-13 1944)

The more important results of these operations are demonstrated by:

- the eliberation of the northern part of Transylvania,
- the engaging and the diminuation of some important German-Hungarian forces in the battles for the northern part of Transylvania, thereby facilitating oppenings for the Soviet forces, in the north, in the region of the vast massifs of Bucovina and Moldavia, and in the south into the plains of the river Tisa,
- the conquest of 4 important mountain massifs,
- the conquest and crossing of 5 river-beds.-

<u>Phase II : October 10.1944-January 15.1945</u>
<u>Roumania's contribution in respect of the defeat of Hungary and the conquest of Budapest</u>

This phase begins with the crossing of the Hungarian frontier by a Roumanian cavalry corps on October 10.1944 and ends with the withdrawal of the 7th army corps from the fight for Budapest on January 15th 1945.-

The following Roumanian forces were participating:

1st Army with 3 army corps commandments,
8 divisions(6 with war effective forces and 2 with training effective forces).-

4th Army with 2 army corps commandments,
8 divisions with war strength,
Air-Corps with 14 squadrons (173 planes) and 1 motorized regiment of anti-aircraft with 18 batteries (122 guns).-

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The Roumanian troops participated at the operations of the 2nd Ucranian Front, at the defeat of the German-Hungarian forces in the following fights:

- the battle for Debrecen (October 8-21.1944),
- the battle for Solnoc (October 19-24. 1944),
- the battle for and the crossing of the river Tisa (October 12-November 22.1944 and
- the battle between the river Tisa and the Danube and the battle for Budapest (October 23.1944 - January 15.1945),
- the battle for the conquest of the mountains' massif Bükk (November 16 - December 26.1944) and
- the battle in the bazin of the river Hernad (November 23 - December 19.1944)

Roumanian air-force troops, pioneers, information units, rail-road and victualling troops preciously contributed not only to the success of the Roumanian forces but also to that of the Soviet forces.-

The results of the Roumanian operative efforts in this phase are:

- the contribution of the defeat of the German-Hungarian forces in 7 great battles.-
- The rupture in two parts of the enemy's forces.-
- The participation at the conquest of the 2 principal defensive centres in the north of Hungary: Budapest and the mountains' massif Bükk.-
- The conquest of 2 mountains' massifs: Bükk and Hegyalya and
- The forcing to the crossing of 3 important rivers (Tisa,Bodrog, Hernad and the interruption of the communications in the rocky roads of these valleys.-
- The penetration on the Hungarian territory into a depth of 250 - 300 km.-

<u>Phase III: December 21.1944 - May 12.1945</u>
<u>Roumania's contribution at the eliberation of Czecho-Slovakia and securing the final victory over Germany.</u>

This phase commences on December 21.1944 when the first Roumanian units crossed the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian frontier and it ends with the unconditional surrender of Germany and

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with the defeat of the last German resistence in Czecho-Slovakia.-

The Roumanian operations were carried on in the activities of the 2nd and 4th Ucranian Fronts in the mountains' regions in Eastern and Central Czecho-Slovakia and thereafter on the Moravian high plains' zones.-

There have participated:

- the First Army with 2 army corps commandments, 7 divisions with war effective forces (including the Guards' division, which arrived in the last moment),
- the 4th army with 2 army corps commandments, 8 divisions with war effective forces,
- the Air-Force with 20 squadrons comprising 239 planes,
- the Anti-aircraft division including 2 independent divisions (belonging to both armies) totalling 73 batteries with 508 guns).-

The more important operations developped in conjunction with:

- the battle for Szina-Torna(December 20.1944-January 12.945),
- the battle for Rojniava (January 12-28.1945),
- the battle for Zvolen (January 28-March 20.1945),
- the battle for Banska-Bistrita and Kremenita (March 19 - April 8.1945),
- the battle for the forced crossing of the river Gran and the conquest of the Nitra massif (March 21 - April 2.1945),
- the battle for the conquest of the little Tatra and White Carpathian Mountains (April 2 - May 2,1945),
- the battle for Moravia (April 12 - May 12.1945).-

The air-force has flown in this phase 2578 sorties.- The 2nd motorized units regiment which has fought together with tank units in Soviet sectors, participated in the crossing of the river Gran, the Nitra massif, the river Waag and in the battles for the conquest of Moravia and took part also in the fights for Austria, being cited four times in the War Communiques of the Soviet Headquarters.-

The result obtained in the course of these operations were as follows:

- the effective contribution in connection with the defeat of the German Hungarian forces in 7 great battles,representing 259 important fights,

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- the reduction of enemy's powerful bridge-head at Zvolen thus permitting the resumption of the general march towards Vienna and Brno,
- the participation at the operations of encircling and repulsing the enemy's forces from Eastern and Central Czecho-Slovakia, thereby effecting an important breach in the whole of the Soviet front, and thus facilitating the maneuvres in the neighbouring sectors,
- the forced crossing of four important rivers,
- the penetration into Czecho-Slovakia's territory in a depth of 400 km,
- the conquest and eliberation of 1722 villages, amongst which there were 31 large places and 86 important villages,
- the conquest of 8 mountains' massifs.-

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The operative contribution of the Roumanian army between August 24.1944 and May 12.1945 (260 days) may, therefore, be summarized as follows:

- the participation at 16 great battles and at 367 fights in which there were exterminated or captured the entire German-Hungarian forces of the Northern part of Transylvania, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, by offensives and assaults day by day, without defensive phases and without any pauses during the nights;
- the penetration into the enemy's dispositions from Mures to the centre of Bohemia, that is to say over 12oo km;
- the conquest of 12 mountainous massifs, during the winter months with snow up to the belt, in districts without any accomodations;
- the forced crossing of 12 important water-courses, amongst which there were the rivers Mures, Tisa, Waag, Morava;
- the conquest and eliberation of 3831 populated centers, inter alia 53 large towns and 180 more important villages;
- the participation at the conquest of Cluj, Oradia, Debrecen, Budapest, Kosice, Lucenez, Bratislava etc.;
- the capturing of 103.214 prisoners (including 4000 men that were taken prisoners by the 2nd Motorized-unit Regiment, which fought in Soviet sectors); to these figures must be added

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17.000 dead left by the enemy on the battle fields.-

In order to demonstrate as concisely as possible the operative efforts of the Roumanian army, we are noting here below the number of the effective-forces participating in the operations, per phases:

1.- The action of purging the territory from German troops and protection of the Western Frontier (August 24 - September 6. 1944).
Under the direct and exclusive command of the Roumanian General Staff, were operating effective-forces as follows:
- 29 divisions (amongst which 20 recruits' divisions),
- 3 detachments (18 battalions),
- Officers and sub-officers of the military scholls, instruction centres,
- Units of the air-force and the anti-aircraft corps.-

<u>Total number of these effective-forces:</u>

<u>385.847 men</u>

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2.- The protection of the concentrations and the fighting units of the Soviet forces (September 7 - 20 1944).-
There were engaged in these operations under the joint command of the Roumanian General Staff and the Supreme Soviet Command:
- 26 divisions (amongst which 2 recruits' divisions),
- 2 detachments (representing the effective-force of 8 battalions),
- Officers and sub-officers of the military schools, instruction centres,
- the air-force corps,
- units of the anti-aircraft corps and the navy,

<u>Total number of these effective-forces : 242.917 men</u>

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3.- The eliberation of the Nothern part of Transylvania (September 20 - October 25.1944)
There were engaged in these operations under the superior command of the Soviets:
- 26 divisions (amongst which 2 recruits' divisions),
- 2 detachments (representing the strength of 8 battalions),
- the air-force corps,
- units of the anti-aircraft corps, navy etc.,

<u>Total number of these effective-forces: 230.100 men</u>

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4.- Contribution at the defeat of Hungary(October 26-December 20)
- 16 divisions (amongst which 2 recruits' divisions),
- the air-force corps,
- units of the anti-aircraft corps, the navy, pontoniers etc.,

Total number of these effective-forces : 165.806 men

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5.- Contribution at the eliberation of Czecho-Slovakia (December 21.1944 - May 12.1945)
- 15 divisions,
- 1 motorized unit regiment,
- the air-force,
- units of the anti-aircraft corps, the navy, pontoniers etc.,

Total number of these effective-forces: 185.587 men.-

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In order to maintain the minimum capacity for our intervention of 185.000 men, that were essentially needed for the joint operations of the great units, there were sent from the interior of the country new troops to complement the losses; these complemental forces amounted to 169.822 men.-

The total contribution, representing therefore the minimum capacity of our effective forces in the final phase, amounted to approximately 360.000 men, a number that almost reaches the maximum capacity of our present military human potentiality.-

II.

To the operative effort of the Roumanian army, there must also be added the military efforts of the other organs of our armed forces, represented by our navy including the fluvial fleet even with Soviet crews and under Soviet pavillion;-

The efforts of the units, the staff and the material of the State Railway Company (that has kept functioning also a good deal of the railroading in Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia etc;-

The entire contribution of our war-industries, which was engaged in the greatest part in the production of goods needed by the Soviet army; as well as

The material contribution of the Roumanian army's and nation's resources.- (i.e. exhaustion of the deposits of general supplies, raw materials, food supplies, equipments etc.).-

These obligations derive from article 3 (with its annex) and from article 10 (with its annex) of the Armistice Convention.

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The approximate value of the materials delivered to the Soviet armed forces, may be estimated on the basis of the following figures:

- The war industry	18.078.022.049.-Lei
- The service of motor-mechanized	60.205.980.687.- "
- " " " artillery M.R.	9.821.725.773.- "
- " " " pioneers M.R.	4.282.141.725.- "
- " " " administration M.R.	22.001.591.524.- "
- " " " sanitary material	1.931.118.037.- "
- " " " veterinary "	95.865.125.- "
- " " " horse-craft	2.125.800.000.- "
- Material of the military domains	1.666.805.960.- "
- the service of food supplies	5.212.414.197.- "
- Air-craft	22.191.617.142.- "
- Navy	62.335.096.146.- "
Total amount =	207.948.178.367.-Lei

If there is added also the Roumanian material for reparation temporarily placed at the disposal of the Soviet armed forces, having a value of Lei 6.697.170.546.- the grand total amounts to approximately 215.000.000.000.- Lei, calculated at the purchase prices or at production cost (at the time the materials were delivered or employed).

1.-<u>The railroad units</u>, which have served particularly to help the Soviet military transports, consisted of 3 regiments with 36 companies, which have carried on :

- Exploitation of the rail roads, averaging in total 681.141 man per day,
- 55 bridges reconstructed,
- 148,651 km rails broadening to the Soviet gauge,
- 47.293 cbm. banking,
- 562.570 km reconstructing rails,
- 457.636 km maintenance and repairing work of the rails,
- 606.469 tons of manipulated material,
- 7.260 km rails built - broad gauge,
- 65.797 km rails built - standard gauge,
- 4.640.831 km transmission works, etc., etc.-

2.-<u>The railroad working and supervising detachments</u>(28 detachments) have realized:

- 146.226 cbm banking,
- 23.339 km supervising rail lines

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- 64.401 km ballasting the rails,
- 336.446 km reconstructing rails,
- 1.400.000 man pro day miscellaneous jobs at the State railways.-

3.- Road constructing units.(9 battalions and 4 detachments) have carried on upkeep and maintenance works, were reconstructing and supervising roads having a length of 1500 km.-

4.- Units and detachments in charge of transmitting information have maintained for a period of 8 months and 17 days 46.225 km telephone lines,for the Soviet army (as compared with only 4342 km for the Roumanian army) as well as 12.000 km telegrapgic lines (3500 km for the Roumanian army) having an economical equivalent of 7.312.853.180 Lei for the Soviet army (Lei 4.040.269.162 for the Roumanian army).-

5.- There were put at the service of the Soviet army, out of the total of 226 important premises, workshops and buildings as follows:

- 22 important factories and buildings,
- 25 airports,
-158 baracks resting places and camps etc.,
- 2 hospitals,
- 2 bakehouses,
- 17 miscellencus important buildings,-

By placing the above premises at the disposal of the Soviet army, the production for the Roumanian army was reduced by 80-100%.- Consequently our army was obliged to satisfy its own necessities but with the resources and reserve stocks,left after the date of August 24.1944, or from the negligible and disparate quantities manufactured after that date.-

At the same time Roumania had to face the following losses caused by the German and Hungerian armies on her territory(exclusive of those losses sustained in the Northern part of Transylvania):

- Consumption of materials	2.089.592.067 Lei
- Destructions and losses caused by blowing up premises etc.	24.633.584.611 "
- Bombings	5.431.348.967 "
- Losses caused by setting on fire premises	10.702.148.172 "
- Alienates	746.530.214 "
- Immediate indemnities and support	40.777.985 "
Grand total	= 43.644.000.000 Lei

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B.

Interpretative obligations imposed upon Roumania by the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission and which do not derive out of the text of the Armistice Convention.-

We shall indicate the military obligations that have been imposed upon us by the Soviet Control Commission, and amongs those having an economic character only insofar as they are linked up with the military ones.-

1.-Although at the meeting held on September 25.1944 at the quarters of the Roumanian General Staff, Marshal Malinovsky and General Mihail, Chief of the Roumanian General Staff, nothing else was fixed, but the conditions, how the military clauses (articles 1 and 2 of the Convention) should be put into practice.- Despite this fact the Control Commission has formulated even on the 2nd day thereafter, the obligation, that the Roumanian troops of the interior for the most part should be demobilized and suppressed.-

These two obligations were not provided for, in the clauses of the Armistice Convention, and their imposition could not be based on any of the articles of the Convention or their annexes.-

For this reason, the Protocol, by which the application of the military clauses of the Convention was established in detail, was not concluded until October 26th 1944,(that is to say, one month after the meeting of Marshall Malinovsky and General Mihail).-

The signing of this document by the Roumanian Supreme Command, was made under the reserve of a Note, in which was stated, that the consent of the Roumanian General Staff was only given as a consequence of the formal threat of the Soviet Control Commission to proceed to the disarming of all the Roumanian forces (which, for a period of 2 months, was already excessively fulfilling the clauses of the Armistice Convention.

The consent was further given particularly for reason of Roumania's aim to continue the co-operation with the United Nations, which up to that date had developped in such a valuable manner.- It was also emphasized in the Note refered to above, that the Roumanian General Staff and the Roumanian Government considered the act of imposition of the Commission as not

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being justified by the provisions of the Armistice Convention.-

2.- The Soviet Military Control Commission continued, however, to proceed in this direction as outlined above and gradually imposed :

- the suppression of other new units,
- the suppression of the sedentary parts of the front divisions and regiments, whereby it was almost made impossible to control and to keep evidence of the troops,
- the suppression of military schools (for officers and sub-officers), without taking into account the needs of the front officers),
- the dissolving of the ordinance offices, indispensible for the adequate victualling and evacuating to and from the operative front troops.-
- the changing in the course of the war even of the organization system of our units.-

No clause had been provided in the Armistice Convention with Roumania, in respect of the demobilization or the suppressing of units, having had in view the fact that important forces were to participate at the operations against Germany and Hungary, with important effective-forces.-

In the conventions subsequently concluded with Bulgaria (article 1) and with Finland (article 4) were inserted clauses which provided the transformation of the respective armies on piece footing.-

The missing of a similar provision in the Convention concluded with Roumania, demonstrates in a striking manner the discrimination made in respect of Roumania.-

3.-The Armistice Convention provides in an explicit way that :
" commencing August 24th 1944, 4 a.m., Roumania has ceased all
" operations against U.R.S.S., has entered the war and will
" wage war at the side of the Allied Powers against Germany
" and Hungary . . . ."

It is evident from these provisions that as from August 24th, 4 a.m., the Soviet armies had to cease also the capturing of troops and materials appertaining to the Roumanian armed forces (army, air-force or navy).-

Article 7 of the Armistice Convention provides for the express obligations as to the war materials being on Roumanian territory: German vessels of war or commercial fleet and those of her satellites, which were in Roumanian waters.-

It follows therefore, that the Soviet army had to

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restore to Roumania, all officers, sub-officers, soldiers, war material, <u>all the military and commercial fleet</u>, railroad material (locomotives and carriages), transmission material, etc., captured after the date of August 24.1944.-

4.- The Soviet Control Commission has imposed that all German and Hungarian auto-vehicles captured, should be handed over to the Soviet Authorities, after they had been set in perfect state by Roumania.-

Out of the text of article 7 results clearly that such an obligation has not been imposed upon us by the Armistice.- More abusive appears the disposition stating that the captured auto-vehicles, which cannot be repaired, owing to the missing of repair-equipment, should be substituted by auto-vehicles appertaining to Roumania.-

5.- Article 4 provides that " the State frontier between U.R.S.S. and Roumania should be re-established as accepted in the Soviet-Roumanian agreement of June 28.1940."

It follows therefrom clearly that Roumania is entitled to establish the force of the frontier guards, so that the crossing of the frontier be made only at specific points, where such crossing to and from Roumania, might have been controlled without delaying or putting difficulties in the way of the crossing of the Soviet organs or units.-

The objections raised by the Soviet Control Commission appear to be still less legitimate after the end of the hostilities against Germany and Hungary and represent a serious violation of the Roumanian national sovereignty.-

6.- The Soviet Control Commission requests, that Roumania should entertain transport and provide lodgings for all Russian prisoners who, in the course of their repatriation from Germany or Hungary, pass via Roumania.- This obligation doesn't derive neither from article 3 (" facilitations for the free movements of the Soviet forces in any direction as it may be required by the military situation"), nor from the annex of this article ("during the existence of the Armistice" . . ." demanded by military necessities"), nor from article 5 that deals with prisoners and interned civilians, retained by force, persons transferred and refugees <u>who were in Roumania</u>.-

7.-The Allied Control Commission imposed upon Roumania, by

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the extension of the provisions of article 10, to pay for the food and lodging of the Soviet troops that might be on our territory.- Taking into consideration the provisions of article 10 and 3 and the latter's annex (facilitation for the movements of the Soviet forces) one has to conclude that Roumania's actual obligations are reffered only to the transport of those Soviet troops that are on their way back to U.R.S.S.-

The obligation of providing food and lodging to those Soviet troops who might establish themselves in Roumania, or might pass through Roumania, especially after the end of the hostilities against Germany and Hungary ("military necessities, if such are required by the military situation etc.") cannot be legitimately derived from none of the provisions of the Armistice Convention.-

Whenever there has been imposed upon a country a liability of feeding and lodging (in all Armistice Conventions), this clause has been explicitly specified for the fact, that its imposition means heavy expenditure for the respective country.-

8.- By article 11 is being specified, which should be the extent of the compensations, to be rendered, as an effect of the losses caused by Roumania in the course of the operations against U.R.S.S., which by Roumania's entrance in war against Germany and Hungary, stating that these should "not be paid in full by Roumania, but only partially."

Consequently, it cannot be now requested that Roumania should replace in kind or cash, the value of certain commodities which served on Soviet territory for the feeding and lodging of the Roumanian troops.-

The establishing of these new obligations, cannot be derived from the provisions of article 12, whatever broad-minded interpretation may be given to these.-

With the aim of re-establishing her <u>independence</u> and <u>sovereignty</u>, Roumania has entered the war against Germany and Hungary and from the very first moment, has made all sacrifices in respect of mankind, materials and economies, without bargaining, and without expecting the fixation of any formal obligations.- It is only natural to expect that all her rights deri-

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ving from the Armistice Convention, be also respected.-

A country that has no right to secure the permanent existence of frontier-guards, that cannot dispose freely of her means of transportation, that has not the right to take up relations with other countries, which is subject by impositions to demobilization, suppressions, changes in the organic structure of her armed and police forces, cannot consider itself, to be an independent and sovereign State.-

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R E M A R K S

on the agreement dated September 11.1945 refering to the food-supplies and subsistence-materials.-

1.- Although this agreement has no reference to the Armistice Convention, it represents, in fact, a prolongation of the applications of article 10 of the Convention, for an indefinite period, which in any case is being extended beyond the date of July 1st 1946 (art. 1, last paragraph.)

2.- Article 10 of the Convention, has been interpreted by the Soviet organs, right from the beginning, in a very broad and abusive manner, because of the following reasons :

a) Supplies of victuals were demanded, for a much larger number of men, in excess of the number of troops that have fought on Roumanian territory.-

b) Supplies of goods were demanded that were destined for the outfit and not for the entertaining of the operative armies.-

c) The payment of expenses, having no connection with war operations, but a character of luxury were also demanded.(Luxury furniture, luxury linen and hoisery, ladies' dresses and shoes, silk stockings, Champagne, wines, etc.)

d) Despite of promises made in December 1944, and despite of the removal of the front from the Roumanian territory, these demands did not cease to increase incessently.-

An equitable and loyal interpretation of article 10 would have meant, that the supplies demanded by the Soviets, would have had to cease after the capitulation of Germany.- But inspite thereof, an increase of the Soviet demands has been stated, during the 3rd quarter of 1945.-.

A just and loyal interpretation of article 10, would have meant, that the supplies of goods and the rendering of services, had to cease after the capitulation of Germany, with the exception of the eventual:

a) Needs of the members of the Allied Control Commission and of the local sub-commissions.-

b) Needs of a reduced number of military organs, that are to secure the order for the Soviet troops, on their way back.-

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c) Transport and communication services rendered to the Soviet troops that are in transit via Roumania, on their way home.-

3.- Instead of providing for a similar regulation, the new agreement, consolidates apart the provisions of the Armistice Convention, the right of the U.R.S.S. to supply gratuitously the troops stationed without any justification on the Roumanian territory, for a new period, which can be extended ad-libitum.

The quantities of numerous articles to be delivered in respect of the 3rd and 4th quarters of 1945 and the succeeding ones, are in excess of those delivered in the preceding quarters. (see annex 11).

4.- The gratuitous execution of the deliveries provided for by this agreement, cannot be justified, therefore, by any pre-existent contractual stipulations and has been imposed upon Roumania by moral pressures, that could not be opposed and discussed by the present government.-

The agreement represents a new example of the method by which U.R.S.S. understands to continue the economical exploitation of Roumania also in the future, indifferent of her possibilities, pretexting the application of the Armistice Convention, which has been signed also by the other Great Powers.-

5.- If these deliveries will be made, particularly in the sector of food-supplies and shoes, the present crisis, which is already intensely felt by the large masses, will aggravate.-

In is known that:

a) The cattle stock of Roumania has suffered significant reductions in the course of the last 12 months, by actions or demands of the Soviets.- This fact will aggravate the procuration of meat and grease even more, and will compell the imposition of new restrictions of the consumption of the population.-

b) The production of vegetal fats, in the year 1945, has entirely collapsed, owing to the production of oil seeds, which is in general 1/4th of the normal one and only attains in rare cases 1/3rd of the normal one.-

The crisis of the vegetal fats, lasts for approximately 12 months, because the harvest of the last year could not be employed, on account of the lack of transport

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means, and the small available quantities, have been exclusively destined for the needs of the Soviets.-

c) The drought has caused an almost complete deficiency of the production of the fodder.- The continuation of the deliveries of hay will lead to a new aggravation of the difficulties for the provision of cattle.-

This will determine the necessity for compulsory slaughtering, in the course of the winter and springtime, of a disproportionnal large number of cattle, and this again will accentuate the crisis of the cattle stock in Roumania, as well in respect of the provision with meat as particularly in respect of draught-animals.-

6.- The agreement does not define as to whether the products previously demanded and not delivered up to September 11. 1945, are still to be delivered or not.-

The Representatives of the Roumanian Commission for the Application of the Armistice, have not had the possibility to obtain precisions, because they were not allowed to discuss the texts presented by the U.R.S.S. government.-

It is intended to attempt, that the quantities ordered but not delivered, will be cancelled by discussing this point with the Allied Control Commission in Bucharest.-

7.- It is to be mentioned that, at July 1st 1945, the value of the quantities demanded by the Soviets, but not delivered, calculated at prices chargeable at the dates when demands or orders were made (prices which are much smaller than those now in force) amounts to approximately Lei 70.000.000.000.- (to-day these quantities have a value of at least 100 Milliards Lei) only in respect of articles and services, concerning the administration, without taking into consideration the victuals and fodder demanded but not yet delivered.-

8.- As in the past, the Soviet demands for victuals and subsistence articles, expressed in daily rates, vary considerably. Annex III shows, that the extreme limits of the quantities to be delivered in the 3rd quarter are represented by 877.000 daily rates for meat and fish and 391.000 daily rates for tobacco and cigarettes (it is possible that the women of the auxiliary services or young people bellow a cer-

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tain age are excluded.-

In the 4th quarter of 1945, the extremes are:

495.000 rates of meat and fish, and
344.000 rates of grease.-

9.- The Roumanian representatives of the Roumanian Commission for the Application of the Armistice in Moscow, are not certain whether the Soviet demends for the 4th and the succeeding quarters will be restricted to victuals and clothing as provided for by articles 3 and 4 of the agreement of September 11.1945, or whether the Allied Control Commission has the right to demand also other articles, viz: in the sector for food-supplies, clothes or particularly in the industrial sector.-

It is obvious that as long as the Soviet armies will continue in fact the occupation of Roumania, there will be necessary to provide at least:

- gratuitous means of transport and information,
- lodging, heating, light, repairs, as well as the maintenance and endowment of these.-

Apart the transports, which are mentioned in the special railway agreement, the other deliveries and services which must be procured(gratuitous) are included.-

Thus there is no doubt about the Soviet intentions, as to eventual demands of other services (repairs of vehicles etc.), or industrial goods.-

An attempt will be made to clarify this question with the Allied Control Commission in Bucharest.-

10.- The value of the victuals and of the other articles that must be delivered, according to the agreement, recently concluded, represents - at prices charged to-day - approximately 30.000.000.000 Lei, as compared with an average of 35.000.000.000 Lei pro quarter up to July 1945, that is 10.000.000.000 Lei pro month.- The alleviation of the burden towards the excessive demands, which had an undisputably arbitrary character, would therefore, be of Lei 5.000.000.000 pro quarter, as compared with the past.-

Together with the sum of Lei 3.950.000.000 which has to be paid monthly in cash, the total monthly burden

will therefore amount to approximately Lei 14.000.000.000.-

In conclusion:

We summarize our remarks as follows:

a) The agreement has no legal basis and no other justification than the utilization of the U.R.S.S. power, in order to impose it upon a government that is uncapable to make any opposition to those who led them to power.-

b) The obligations imposed have no limits as to their duration a fact, that permits to presume the Soviet intentions.-

c) The fulfillment of the deliveries will entail a new aggravation of the crisis as to victuals and clothing in Roumania.-

d) The agreed obligations for the 4th quarter of 1945 and the following quarters, amount to approximately Lei 15 Milliards pro month or Lei 180 Milliards annually (including those Lei 3.950.000.000 monthly that are demanded for in cash) - based on a global calculation at prices valid in Sept.1945.-

e) The agreement does not state whether the Allied Control Commission has the right to demand also goods and services other than those expressly provided for in the agreement.-

f) It is not clear whether the quantities of miscellaneous equipment ordered in the past, are still to be delivered, or will be cancelled.-

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A N N E X I

Statement showing the Soviet demands in the first three quarters of 1945 in respect of the principal commodities.-

	Expressed in units of tons:	1st quart. 1945	2nd quart. 1945	3rd quart. 1945
Flour and by-products	tons	1.048	63.820	37.609
Peeled barley, rice, groats	"	230	11.220	6.990
Potatoes	"	309	9.054	87.887
Vegetables	"	108	91.290	25.600
Mixed pickles	"	350	-	31.850
Eggs	"	120	302	2.550
Sugar	"	98	3.200	1.898
Fruits, jam, sweets	"	2	226	384
Milk and by-products	"	86	3.294	3.800
Meat of all kind	"	345	12.000	10.192
Fishes	"	185	9.000	5.436
Grease, butter	"	117	4.300	3.447
Barley, oats	"	110	60.000	28.650
Hay, straw	"	-	90.000	157.250
Tobacco	"	60	975	841
Cigarettes	million pieces	5	-	35

The above list does not comprize articles of minor importance, nor direct purchases effected by cash obtained from the Roumanian National Bank.-

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ANNEX II

Comparative statement showing the deliveries of commodities and materials made (a) in accordance with the new Agreement and (b) the previous deliveries.

	Expressed in units of tons:	Average deliveries from 1.X.1944 to 30.VI.1945:	2nd quart. 1945:	3rd quart. 1945:	4th quart 1945:
Meat	tons	5.184	9.850	7.000	3.865
Fishes	"	1.533	638	3.500	2.575
Butter and grease	"	1.033	671	255) 1.950)	190) 1.235)
Sugar	"	3.930	1.630	1.000	805
Potatoes and vegetables	"	5.528	22.000	44.000	26.400
Hay	"	14.800	19.017	9.500	7.085
Tobacco	"	1.053	191	550	320
Cigarettes	million pieces	179	-	-	90

	Demands up to 1.VII.45:	Average quarterly demands:	Demands at 1.VII.1945:	Average quarterly deliveries	Quarterly deliveries to be made as from Oct.1.1945
Boots	728.000	242.600	456.707 (1)	152.230	70.000
Underwearings	550.000	183.000			70.000
Skirts	550.000	183.000			70.000
Cotton blouses	226.000	75.300	147.452	49.150	70.000
Over-coats	300.000	100.000	420	140	20.000
Trousers	250.000	83.000	120.417	40.139	35.000

(1) The material which is used for the making of skirts and underwearings, is the same as that used for linen-sheets, pillow-covers etc.- The statistical figures are global.- The demands for the material necessary to satisfy all these deliveries till July 1st 1945 amount to 4.770.000 metres, of which -owing to lack of cotton- only 1.235.000 mtrs or 28% were ordered.-The deliveries till July 1st 1945, have been much smaller,viz: 166.000 metres.-It is not yet known whether the quantities which have not been delivered, till the date the new agreement became effective, are now to be delivered on account of the past quarters.-

ANNEX III

Statement showing

conversion into daily rates of the Soviet demands for the 4th quarter 1945 and thereafter.

	Daily rate gram / per person Soviet standard:	Quarterly rate (90 days) expressed in kg.:	Quantities demanded for the 3rd quarter 1945 tons:	1000 rates daily:	Quantities for the 4th quarter 1945:	Number of daily rates in 1000:
Meat:	144	13.000	7.000		3.865	
Fishes:			3.500		2.575	
Total =	144	13.000	10.500	877	6.440	495
Grease:	25		255		190	
Oil:	21	414	1.950		1.235	
Total =	46		2.205	530	1.425	344
Potatoes and vegetables:	800	72	44.000	611	26.400	566
Tobacco:	21		1.890	-	550	291
Cigarettes:	10		900		900	100
						391
Sugar:	25	2.250	1.000	444	805	358
Demands after July 1st 1946						
Flour (1)	500	45	17.160	381		
Groats	121	10,89	4.500	412		

(1) Daily rate of bread 700 grams equal to 500 grams of flour

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Mr.President:

As we are, workmen and citizens, conscious of our duties towards truth and justice, towards our country and the peoples throughout the world, we send you a sad alarm cry, coming out from the hearts of millions of Rumanians.

"We are in a state of bankruptcy, we are crushed, we decompose ourselves"

Our cry is not, does not mean fright, it is the truth. Inspite of the cruel terror against us used by those who are our leaders whom the people does not want,and those imposed by the allied armies, with which we have fought in order to get rid of the Hitlerist yoke - and now unfortunately there is another, more tyrannic one, never recorded by the history of our dear little country, we permit ourselves to setf forth the disaster of the railways,knowing that you will be the echo of our desperate cry. It is known that our cattle were taken away, so were the motor-vans, as well as any means of transportation.The railwys which we hoped to remain as they were before, are now desorganised for the following reasons:

I- At the head of the Railway Administration, from the Minister to the last leading post, there have been placed only people that do not understand their job, quite incompetent,

Thus, the Minister is a craftsman;the Director of Welfare, that is head over the medical corps, is equally a craftsman.Director of Traffic, a certain controler,absolutely incompetent and imoral.

Station masters, inspectors,chiefs of divisions,high controllers, subdirectors and directors, all of them incompetent people, are the worst employees and workmen,regular customers of drinking-houses and taverns, who will now look after this great railway institution. Many of them are people who have in the past worn the legionnaires' green shirt and now are more communists than the communists themselves.One can easily realize why.They have been selected and appointed by the Communist party through the respective Unions which are not professional, but political.They do not belong to the employees or to the workmen, they belong to the Communist Party. The leaders of the Unions are not the representatives of our unions;they have been pushed by the Communist Party,without being elected by us, in accordance with the Unions law.

We avail ourselves of this occasion to let you know that all these manifestations are against our will.We detest such manifestations,as we are compelled to join these manifestations by force. They continually threat us that we shall be dismissed, or transferred.We are also incessantly insulted.

II- As they wanted to appoint their own men, they resorted to a very clever system,by creating new posts thanks to a so called reorganization of the Railways. But they organize only the top and then going downwards, and whilst there is chaos at the top, at the bottom all is lost. Materials, rolling stock, vehicles and installations exist no more, and we still have is out of use. They have all lost their heads! They issue orders which cannot be carried out, because they want to protect their

own men and crush those whose looks they do not like any more.

Thus, there is a famous order according to which the trains carrying Soviet troops be received and despatched by the Station masters in person, that is to say they will be required to be on permanent duty, by day and by night.

According to another order all these trains shall be accompanied by qualified controllers, relieved from their ordinary duties where they are more useful,which increases the chaos.It is known that these control organs can do nothing in connection with the traffic which they cannot make safer, since theSoviet Commandment and even the troops interfere with theitr work.

III-They shamelessly lie when they state that output has been increased The country and the foreign countries are thus lied.The railway traffic is reduced more and more and we can say that our Railways will one day have to stop their activity.

Before the Groza Cabinet came to powerm there were plenty of passenger and goods trains which meant a real economic life. At present onthe Piteşti section out of 15 pairs of goods trains, of which 8 were economic ones, there were left only 12,of which only 1 is economic and the other 11 reserved for the Russians.The same can be said for the other sections.Whenever we can despatch these 11 trains for the Russians the 12th one is for ourselves.But as we are never able to despatch them, owing to the lack of fuel, locomotives, etc.,our own train cannot be sent out.Those that have been evacuated, those whose property was lost,scattered throughout the country are uselessly waiting for victuals, fuel,clothing,footwear etc.,as there is no traffic.

The result of the lack of transp ortation means is that there are now fewer trains to transport foodstuffs such as corn, maize, flower, beans etc.,the towns and the mountainous regions beaing insufficiently supplied with these products.We think that the reduction in these transports will determine and force the population to accept gladly the creation of Colhozes"(a Soviet system of colective victualling).

As a consequence of this situation one can see daily convoys of thousands of men from regions deprived of foodstuffs coming down to get supplies.One can see how thousands of sacks filled up with food are transported clandestinely by train.

This stateof things deeply influences the country's economic situation for the mere reason that these workmen instead of working in the coal, oil or timber plants, go away on long trips to get a score or perhaps some hundred of kilograms of maize or maize-flour. What an unhappy picture as above shown, can one see at the railway station on the Bărăgan and especially at Medgidia, Feteşti, Tăndărei, Lehliu etc., where people coming from distant places such as Muscel, Argeş, Prahova, Neamţ,Bacău, Roman and Dorohoiu, on 7-12 days' journey,shivering with cold, are waiting with one or two sacks of maize for a goods train or afuel train to take them back to their umhappy children who are waiting for their "mămăligă" (porridge made of maize flour, a poor man's daily food).

One can see the same picture at the Bucharest-Triaj station, at Chitila, Ploeşti, Ghergani, Făurei, Buzău, Mărăşeşti etc., where the trains are detached. This is how output increases! They think that output can increase by these endless manifestations during work hours and office hours, which are duly paid. They also think that output can increase by taking the working class away from their work to work in the Trades Unions' field, when it is well known that they are made use of for communist propaganda.

Work is desorganized for political work is more interesting. Each Monday trains Nr.5407 and 1405 suheduled to leave at 17.oo and 18.40 hours are held up until 20.oo hrs waiting for the "comrades" engaged in the so-called "cell" political work. Nobody thinks or cares for the troubles that may ensue in the traffic.

IV- There are fewer and fewer locomotives and trucks. The Russians have taken away all our locomotives and trucks in good condition, and they left us only a very small number thereof in bad condition. Nearly all the trucks are marked with a capital T which means trophy bearing also a number to show that the vehicle belongs to the URSS. Our repair shops such as those at Ploeşti, Galatz, Jassy make repairs and wheel extension work solely for them. They have also taken away our blue colored passenger cars, which once were a pride for us.

The number of trucks that are out of order increases daily in our parks and within the 1st Regional - one of the seven Regionals - has some 8000 trucks which cannot be repaired as labor and materials are lacking, but they are made use of by and for the Russians.

IV- It has been stated in the papers and broadcast after Petru Groza's return from Moscow that the administration of our railways will now be in Rumanian hands, unfortunately it is far from being true. By so doing they wanted to lull our conscience and spread propaganda, a false one for foreign countries.

The truth is that nothing moves without the order of the Russians as mm traffic is scheduled in strict accordance with their military and political interests.

We can see daily trains loaded with tanks, small tanks and young relief troops from Russia going to Transylvania. On October 27th there were at Urziceni two trains loaded with soldiers, and on 26th there were at Predeal two trains with soldiers and one with tankets.

Great numbers of soldiers have also been transported or landed in the Mihai Bravul, Mizil and Buzău districts.

VI- Plunder has attained its apogee. The citizens are daily plundered, killed, threatened. These menaces take place when we are on duty so that we may neglect our work, being influenced by menaces. Naturally work thus neglected interferes with the safety of traffic. The homes of the railway people near the stations, passengers in the trains as well as passers-by are are plundered and robbed and those who resist are killed. We mention the plundering of parcel-train 2502 at Bod, the plundering of the Moara Săracă, Inoteşti, Mizil stations and so on.

An order, Nr.1/1152 collective, was issued by the Head Office of the Railways to the effect that no request for repairs or materials

is to be dealt with unless it is made through the "Voso". Can any one comply with this order when one is threatened with revolvers! They take away everything from us, even the lamps at the points and signalling in the stations, as well as those from the trains which is a serious handicap to the traffic. We cannot do anything at all, for death awaits him who would protest. We want to point out the fact that in August train Nr.5406 whilst covering the distance between Chitila and Bucharest run over and killed a Russian soldier who was drunk. The engine-driver who saw the signalling made to him was taken away at the North Station in Bucharest by a band of Russians who thrashed him and died. Another engine-driver of an auto-motor train was likewise thrashed on the charge that he run over the corpse of the Russian soldier. The same Russians then went to Bucharest-Junction who beat the pointsman saying that if he saw the Russian soldier on the rails he ought to have changed the direction of the train which run him over. When the investigation was made, every one was obliged to state that that engine-driver's death is due to an old illness of his and that no thrashing of any kind was seen.

The Băldana Station master wired that soldiers who were in a certain train fired and shot a woman who was working on the field. Although it was well known which echelon was travelling by that train, the reply of the Head Office of the Railways was full of reproaches to the Station Master who omitted to state concise facts.

VII- The Teleajen-Giurgiu pipe lines are taken to pieces the materials of which are used in the construction of another pipe-line: Teleajen - Urziceni - Făurei - Reni; 12 kilometres of pipe line have already been despatched to Reni.

The foregoing is a short picture of the happiness given us by the Petru Groza Cabinet that is miserable life and plundering at the bottom, confusion and chaos at the top.

Mr.President, kindly be the Country's spokesman and our own too, be the echo of our pains and depict to the whole world - that democratic one that loves truth and justice - the unfortunate fate that befell us, all of us who did our sacred duty on the 23rd of August 1945 when we did as you ordered us and followed His Majesty the King - Michael the First - Whom we shall follow until we die, our King whom we all adore.

A group of employees and workmen, Railways Dept.-

DOMNUL PREZEDINTE IULIU MANIU PRIMIT CU FURTUNOASE APLAUZE și

căruia imensa mulțime din sală îi face o impresionantă manifestație de

solidaritate rostește un lung expozeu asupra situației politice care

durează aproape două ore și din care redăm .

Pornind în campanie electorală am ținut să viu prima dată la Brașov Aici de unde s'a răspândit lumina mare a culturii și a conștiinței naționale ,aici unde conștiința românească și cultura românească au dat pilde vii și altor ținuturi ,aici unde tinerimea română venea să învețe limbă r românească pe care pe urmă o răspândeau printre cei cari n'au xxxx avut norocul să învețe limba frumoasă a Brașovului,aici unde zac osemintele atâtor eroi ,să mă închin marilor bărbați cari au luminat calea poporului românesc.

Azi când suntem în al 20-lea an dela unire ,ar fi fost bine și frumos să ne întrunim în această cetate pentru a vorbi despre fericirea nea xxx neamului ,despre praznice de veselie și să ne închinăm sufletul faptelor mari ai celor cari au făcut România-Mare .Or nu este așa .A trebuit să venim să xx vă chemăm la luptă ,pentru a doborî o stare de lucruri care jignește demnitatea națională ,morala creștină și interesele superioare ale neamului .

Țara este astăzi într'un pericol mai mare ca oricând .Si am venit să vă rugăm ca uniți într'o singură forță să înlăturăm acest pericol pentru a salva astfel și națiunea și Coroana . Suntem înaintea alegerilor cari nu este o luptă electorală ci o luptă de afirmare națională ,o luptă care trebuie să îndrume țara pe alte căi de cum a mers în ultimul timp .Demnitatea și mândria națională sunt adânc jăfuite și călcate în picioare .V'a arătat dl. Mihai Popovici că dreptul de a guverna această țară i-a revenit tot d-lui Tătărăscu,deși în ultimile alegeri partidul liberal a obținut abia 30% din sufragiile națiunii .Deci guvernul Tătărăscu nu este un guvern al țării,ci un guvern personal eșit dintr'un capriciu incontrolabil .Ei Nu este nici al partidului liberal căci însuși dl. Dinu Brătianu a recomandat M.S. Regelui să nu mai ție la guvern pe dl. Tătărăscu și să aducă la putere partidul național-țărănesc . Dacă însuși șeful partidului liberal dl. Dinu Brătianu, cel mai mare adversar politic al nostru ,a avut convingerea că partidul său nu mai are încrederea țării și că dl. Tătărăscu nu are competența ci dreptul de a mai guverna evident că noi cu atât mai mult trebuie să afirmăm că acest guvern nu este al țării .Dar avem nu numai dreptul de a protesta ci și de a aduna toate forțele ca să luptăm contra guvernului când ei brutalizează voința națională .

Este o nenorocire pentru țară acest sistem de a face guverne după capricii .In trei ani s'au perindat la cârma țării 9 guverne .Dintre acestea două ale noastre, sprijinite de voința națională și de o majoritate parlamentară ,dar alungate dela putere fără nici un motiv iar celelalte 7 eșite din capriciul momentan al unor forțe oculte .Astfel guvernul Mironescu,deși se bucura de toată încrederea țării a fost înlăturat după câteva luni. Al xxx doilea guvern al meu și apoi al lui Vaida a fost expediat tot după câteva luni fără motivare politică. Toate acestea s'au petrecut nu sub influența xxxxxxx națiunii ci sub influența forțelor oculte cari au pus stăpânire și pe chibzuința regală .Dl. Vaida nu știa vreo neînțelegere cu Regele ,a simțit însă vântul crizei și pentru a verifica adevărul svonurilor a căutat să afle dela M.Sa de unde isvorăsc aceste svonuri .A aflat că într'adevăr este criză ministerială dar nu pentrucă ar exista vre'o divergență de vedere ori o neîncredere personală ci pentrucă „democrația cere schimbarea fețelor"! A fost chemat apoi la guvern Duca care a decedat atât de dureros . Ce-ar fi fost mai firesc decât ca după această nenorocită întâmplare, să fi fost chemat la guvern dl. Dinu Brătianu ,șeful partidului liberal ,un om care a dat totdeauna dovadă și de patriotism și de înțelepciune . Ei bine, nu ! A fost chemat dl. dr. Anghelescu ,într'adevăr un mare adversar al nostru dar un bun român și un mare muncitor pe terenul culturii și mai ales unul dintre acei puțini liberali cari mai mult a dat pentru partidul său decât a primit. Știți cât a guvernat? Trei zile !, fără ca partidul său să fi arătat vreo nemulțumire față de dânsul .A fost expediat și chemat dl. Tătărăscu .Dar nu xxxxxx fiindcă l-ar fi vrut țara ,ci pentru motive pe cari le voi arăta mai târziu .

Stăm în fața guvernului personal al d-lui Tătărăscu care a fost chemat și ținut 4 ani fără să fi avut o legătură sufletească cu neamul

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Singur împrejurarea că dl. Tătărăscu a primit guvernul dreptlurmarea a capriciului forțelor oculte ar fi motiv deajuns că să luptăm pentru înlăturarea lui . Acest drept al nostru se preface într'o datorie națională dacă ne dăm seama că dl. Tătărăscu este dușmanul democrației și guvernează cu mijloace dictatoriale. El a introdus o dictatură dechizată ca să ~~xxx~~ pregătească și pe urmă să înfăptuiască o dictatură fățișe .

Regimul actual guvefnează cu decrete legi și cu cenzură de aici urmează că i s'a răpit națiunii cel mai sfânt drept al său de a stabili însăși legile sale îndatoririle de a contribui cu avutul și viața sa la susținerea statului și a dispune asupra averii naționale . Ofiguvernul d-lui Tătărăscu - mi se revoltă întreaga mea ființă când mă gândesc la aceasta - stabilește noi sarcini prin decrete legi. înființează funcțiuni noui cu caracter de ministere ,cu decrete legi ,modifică organizanțiunile prin legi de ale statului stabilite prin decrete legi și tot prin decrete legi închele contracte numeroase de miliarde și înstrăinează averi naționale .Guvernul Tătărăscu exercită de ani de zile o cenzură revoltătoare care ne împiedică să exercităm controlul și critica opiniei publice și mai ales să arătam bolile morale și corupția regimului care aduce aproape la disperare opinia publică a țării . Nu putem să ne îndeplinim cel maix elementar drept și datoria să arătam că ele pe cari mergând poate prospera națiunea .~~xxxx~~

Dar trebuie să combatem guvernul d-lui Tătărăscu pentrucă deși în fond compromite partidul liberal ,dar el totuși guvernează în numele partidului liberal ,ori însuși concepțiunea politică și metodele liberale provoacă lupta noastră hotărâtă. Eu în tinerețea mea am crescut într'un cult pentru partidul liberal și numele Brătianu . In Ardeal din copilărie nu auzeam decât de Regele Carol I-iu de domnitorul Cuza ,de Cogălniceanu și Ion Brătianu în preajma realizării României -Mari credeam de firesc ca partidul național să colaboreze politicește cu partidul liberal întâmplarea a făcut ca în calitatea mea de președinte al consiliului dirigent să ajung în contact politic intim cu conducerea partidului liberal și guvernul lui Ion Brătianu . In scurtă vreme m'am convins că partidul național și noi ardelenii și bănățenii nu vom putea colabora politicește cu partidul liberal .El s'a dovedit că cu pastrarea formelor exterioare este în contra democrației ,urăște esența ei vrea o dominațiune de partid sub flamura ideilor naționale apără clientela politică și sub lozinci de prosperitate națională ascunde interesele bancare și capitaliste liberale nizuind cu o tenacitate vrednică de o cauză mai nobilă să penetreze politicește și economicește cu noile provincii cu orice preț și orice mijloace. Pentru aceasta n'am putut merge cu liberalii și am făcut tovărăsia fericită cu partidul -țărănesc .

Prevederea mea a fost justificată de ultimile evenimente politice ar fi fost pentru partidul național prefăcut în partidul național-țărănesc o catastrofă politică dacă am fi consimțit să colaborăm cu partidul liberal .Cu toate guvernările liberale n'au fost decât o sfidare a adevăratei democrații și o exploatare a masselor muncitoare și producătoare . Un centralism feroce care ne îndreptățea noile provincii și o politică economică financiară nenorocită care a adus la nenorociri economice în vechiul Regat și la pauperizarea noilor provincii .A trebuit să suferim invadarea țării noastre cu coroane austro-ungare fără valoare pentrucă nu a consimțit guvernul liberal să le preschimbăm . A trebuit să devalorizăm la jumătate prețul valorilor mobiliare și pe urmă a trebuit să fim cu toții victima politicii nenorocite de revalorizare a leului care a costat multe miliarde statul, ca pe urmă astăzi să facă politica inflației prin emiterea a lor 4 miliarde hârtie și a unei sume incontrolabile de monedă metalică .Intre timp a încercat o stabilizare care n'a reușit să facă dar pe care a trevuit-o noi s'o facem pentru a scăpa banca națională de faliment scăzându-se astfel valoarea monedei noastre la 3% .

A continuat politica sa liberală-capitalistă și a întreprins acțiunea de așa zisă naționalizare ceeace a însemnat că în loc de a etatiza sau socializa marele întreprinderi și bogății naționale le-a trecut în mâna particularilor, mai bine zis ,a capitalismului și a prietinilor politicielibe rali .In politica fiscală a desființat impozitul global și a pus fondul pr principal pe impozitele directe cari apasă clasele inferioare muncitoare ale poporului . A înfeudat întreaga viața comercială și industrială a capitalismului liberal și a teroarei băncii naționale .Domnul Maniu a ilustrat cu mai multe exemple aceste afirmațiuni și apoi a arătat că peste toate celelalte cea mai mare crimă ce a comis partidul din guvernul d-lui Tătărăscu este că a ~~xxx~~ lăsat țara în stare de dezarmare militară și a desarmat-o sufletește . Trecând peste enorma greșală ce a făcut guvernul liberal prin convertirea tuturor datoriilor agricole,prin urmare și a ~~xxxx~~ proprietarilor celor mari nu numai a țăranilor prin ce a dat în faliment institutele financiare incapabile de a mai împlini menirea ,dl. Maniu arată că D-Sa când a fost la guvern a încheiat contracte cari asigurau înarmarea ță-

în mod
şi revoltător şi sub diferite pretexte de rea credinţă
a anulat contractele şi a suspendat lucrările ,a încheiat noui contracte
şi drept rezultat azi avem contracte în certare ,avem miliarde date în anti-
cipaţie şi plată dar n'avem armament livrat şi suntem în anul Domnului
1937 ,când în fiecare moment poate erupe războiul,dezarmaţi.

Dacă aceasta este o mare calamitate ,este o adevărată nenorocire că
suntem sufleteşte dezarmaţi şi sfâşiaţi între noi graţie politicei d-lui
Tătărăscu şi mai ales a lipsei D-sale de curaj de a rezista forţei pu-
terilor oculte şi a atmosferei din jurul Palatului. Un rezultat
al guvernării Tătărăscu este faptul dureros că în această ţară a făcut să
se desvolte dorul de câştig personal fără muncă, dorul de prosperitate
personal nejustificat,îmbogăţirea partizanilor,abuzuri în toate domeniile
vieţii de stat ,fraude de valute , de schimburi de mărfuri internaţionale,
comisioane fantastice şi sperţuri cari au devenit uzuale ,fără posibilita-
tea de a reacţiona în contra lor. Naţiunea ruptă în două tabere ,tineri şi
bătrâni ,prin cuvânt de încurajare a Guvernului şi prin dezlegări ilegale
tineret însufleţit de idealuri ,prins adesea de tentative a lichelismului
pentru a progresa mai uşor şi oameni bătrâni,dornici de muncă ,descurajaţi
prin actele de nedreptate sugerate de o ocultă care vrea să domnească prin
strivirea dreptăţii şi remunerarea trădării şi a lipsei de caracter.

In ce priveşte politica externă ,guvernul Tătărăscu a reuşit să stre-
coare cea mai completă neîncredere în toate popoarele ,faţă de statul
român .Tot ce vorbeşte guvernul Tătărăscu în chestia externă este corect,
tot ceeace face însă contrazice cu ceeace spune . Trăim într'un permanent
şi nenorocit echivoc . Guvernul Tătărăscu a declarat ,ba chiar a subscris ,
că este de acord cu politica d-lui Nicolae Titulescu cu toate acestea
într'o bună zi l-a scos în guvern pe acest mare fiu al neamului ro-
mânesc , pe acest om care s'a dedicat ,din tinereţe,realizării idealului na-
ţional,pe acest bărbat care era cel mai potrivit apărător al neamului în
forurile internaţionale şi un arbitru recunoscut în multe probleme interna-
ţionale . A fost dat afară din guvern, evident, pentru motivul că guvernul
în sufletul său contrară afirmaţiunilor sale este în contra politicei exter-
ne a d-lui Titulescu care a fost şi este însăşi politica naţiunii noastre.

Partidul naţional-ţărănesc nu poate avea în politica externă decât o
singură ţintă, a apărării integrităţii noastre naţionale . Urmează de aici
că singura noastră alianţă firească nu poate fi decât cu acele cari sus-
ţin şi apără această integritate.

Noi trebuie să mergem în mod logic şi practic în sistemul internaţional
al Franţei şi Angliei şi aceasta ,în mod deschis, şi fără
putinţă de răstălmăcire şi aceasta şi din motivul ca statele prietene
necă să ştie mai ales acum, când suntem la răspântie ,că în noi au prie-
teni sinceri ,loiali ,gata la orice sacrificiu în interesul comun.

D-voastră,desigur, veţi crede că aşa sunt lucrurile ,noi avem deja
tratate de alianţă cu aceste două mari ţări .Ori sunteţi în mare rătăcire .
Noi nu avem cu ei tratate de alianţă ,ci mai mult , Franţa ne-a oferit o
alianţă defensivă aşa cum are Polonia şi Cehoslovacia ,dar guvernul Tă-
tărăscu a respins-o cu motivarea că nu o vrea şi Serbia , deşi Franţa ofe-
rea această alianţă conform informaţiunilor mele ,faţă de oricine ar fi
acela care ne-ar ataca . Sistemul dictatorial de guvernare al d-lui Tăta-
rescu nu se invederează prin nimic mai mult decât prin faptul că cenzura
a oprit opinia publică şi lipsa funcţionării parlamentului a împiedecat
reprezentanţii naţiunii să ia cunoştinţă despre aceasta şi că cea mai impor
tantă funcţiune naţională : politica externă se diriguieşte între patru
pereţi cu excluderea voinţii naţionale. Stiu că sunt în curs o serie de
tratative extrem de interesante ,mai ales pentru Ardeal şi Banat ,despre ca
ri naţiunea habar n'are ,cari totuşi ating interese vitale ale ţării noas-
tre . Deşi ne-ar servi mult propagandei mele politice ,patriotismul meu
mă împiedecă să le destăinuiesc.

Aceasta dictatură revoltătoare trebuie împiedecată să ră-
mână în fiinţă şi votul alegătorilor sigur va desfiinţa ,dacă el va fi li-
ber,deci trebuie să asigurăm libertatea alegerilor.

Guvernul Tătărăscu are în practica sa falsificarea voinţii naţionale.
Si pentru a înlătura acest pericol a trebuit să ne adunăm într'o forţă pen-
tru apărarea libertăţii alegerilor . In acest scop , am făcut apel la toa-
te partidele de opoziţie şi m'a bucurat foarte mult când am văzut că parti-
dele domnilor Corneliu Codreanu şi George Brătianu şi C. Argentoianu s'au
alăturat din primul moment acestei acţiuni patriotice .Am stabilit precis
că această înţelegere nu tulbură nici doctrina,şi nici ideologia partidelor
noastre. Am avut însă o adâncă durere când am văzut că unele partide au re-
fuzat să ia parte la această înţelegere . Printre cei cari au refuzat a
fost şi dl. Goga. Dar de dl. Goga nu mă mir ,n'a fost niciodată iubitor al
libertăţii alegerilor ,nici stimător al voinţei poporului .M'am mirat însă
foarte mult că partidul social-democrat a refuzat să ia parte la această
înţelegere. L-am invitat în scris şi verbal şi M'a refuzat categoric. Intr'

Intr'adevăr m'a durut acest lucru rămânând într'o aşa mare eroare atunci când ca dela foşti colaboratori în cauza mare mă aşteptam la cu totul altceva . Nu caut motivele hotărârei lor, constat însă că această atitudine nu corespunde cu sentimentul muncitorimii care simte necesitatea unirii forţelor şi pe care o rog, precum rog întreaga ţărănime ca să voteze cu listele noastre pentrucă numai victoria ei ,poate asigura victoria democraţiei şi prin ea victoria dreptăţii sociale. Sunt foarte satisfăcut ,că din toate părţile ţării mi s'a pus în vedere sprijinul muncitorimii, absolut fără nici o condiţiune ,numai pe baza încrederii ce o au în nizuinţele noastre cinstite şi în sinceritatea acţiunii noastre .

Asemenea m'am mirat mult că dl. Lupu a refuzat să ia parte la această înţelegere ,deşi tendinţele democratice ale sale ar fi cerut înainte de toate ,apărarea eficace a libertăţii alegerilor. Cu atât mai mult mă aşteptam la adesiunea acestor partide dar încheerea înţelegerii nu altera delac perfecta libertate de propagandă şi de acţiune pentru ideologia proprie, a fiecărui partid .

Ori, sunt adânc convins că în libera concurenţă ,ideologia democratică asociată de ideia naţională constructivă şi de aceea a dreptăţii sociale ,va triumfa faţă de orice alte ideologii .

Nimeni nu este îndreptăţit să creadă ,şi dacă va crede ,se va înşela amar că partidul naţional-ţărănesc ar fi în stare să părăsească vreo dată lupta sa pentru democraţie şi înverşunata sa rezistenţă faţă de orice tentativă dictatorială şi că va părăsi vreo dată cultivarea ideii naţionale constructive ,în propaganda sa sau în politica sa de stat.

Partidul naţional-ţărănesc a fost şi este de convingerea că poporul românesc are dreptul să ceară întregul sprijin al statului ,pentru desăvârşirea sa naţională, economică şi culturală. Minorităţile din ţară trebuie să recunoască că statul român are dreptul şi datoria să refacă pentru poporul român ce a pierdut în cele 2000 de ani de asuprire .

Aceasta se poate face fără persecutarea minorităţilor cari trăiesc cu noi şi fără a face nedreptate celor de altă origină. Noi nu voim act de persecuţie ,dar voim, pentru noi înşine ,refacerea grabnică a forţelor pierdute în timpul opresiunei, când minorităţile au fost cele favorizate şi protejate ,iar noi împiedecaţi în desvoltarea noastră .

Pentru a înlătura regimul dezastruos de acum ,este în primul rând necesar ridicarea conştiinţei naţionale şi cetăţeneşti şi ridicarea simţului demnităţii naţionale. Dar mai ales a se face ca morala creştină să fie pusă în aplicare practică în viaţa de stat şi socială de sus până jos, şi să fie înlăturată ,fără amânare , atotputernicia ocultei din care rezulta atatea calamităţi sufleteşti şi materiale pentru ţara noastră şi poporul ei. Trebuie însă să constat că această năzuinţă întâmpină grele obstacole prin atitudinea guvernului Tătărăscu ,care nu numai tolerează ,ci chiar protejează cele mai evidente manifestaţiuni ,cari contrazic moralei creştine şi unei vieţi adevărat constituţionale. Mai mult el profită de această împrejurare şi se prezintă ca un rezultant a lor .

Domnul Maniu în expunerea sa ,arată sistematic desfăşurarea renunţării Prinţului Moştenitor Carol dela Tron ,acţiunea sa de a se produce restaurarea şi cum d-na Lupescu a promis însărcinatului d-lui Maniu ca în caz de restaurare ,ea nu se va mai întoarce în ţară. A arătat cum d-sa a protejat revenirea Ma. Sale Regelui în ţară şi ocuparea Tronului după ce prin aceasta se convinse că d-na Lupescu a rămas în Franţa şi că nu mai are intenţiunea să se reîntoarcă. A arătat în ce mod fericit a guvernat sub domnia Regelui Carol II-lea cât vreme d-na Lupescu nu era în ţară. A arătat apoi, sinistra întorsătură a lucrurilor după ce prin ajutorul d-lui Mihail Manoilescu şi a altor persoane apropiate d-nei Lupescu d-sa a reuşit să se întoarcă în ţară şi să ajungă iarăşi în apropierea Majestăţii Sale. A arătat cum această întâmplare nefastă a împiedecat înfăptuirea planului aprobat de a se încorona M. Sa Regele cu M. S. Elena şi a demonstrat cum prezenţa acestei doamne ,care a creiat în jurul ei o odioasă dar atotputernică camarilă, care a intervenit pentru înlăturarea guvernului Vaida şi pentru instalarea d-lui Duca şi a D-lui Tătărăscu .

Această dureroasă împrejurare corupe întreaga viaţă de stat şi prin exemplul oferit ,distruge simţul pentru o moralitate creştină a mulţimii care nu-i permis să se îndeletnicească cu privelistea imoralităţii în viaţa privată şi corupţiunea în viaţa publică, vicii dezastruoase ,atât de mult cultivate de camarilă ,care s'a pus zid între Coroană şi naţiune.

Pentru aceasta naţiunea trebuie să facă şi ea o falangă puternică pentru dărâmarea acestui zid şi întronarea moralei creştine ,a democraţiei şi a unei vieţi naţionale demne de trecutul nostru şi de aspiraţiunile noastre. Aceasta şi pentrucă ne dăm seamă că duşmanii nu pot distruge o

națiune în măsura în care o distruge cu siguranță corupțiunea și imoralitatea proprie. Deeaceea suprema datorie a conducătorilor unui stat este ca să dea pildă bună pentru a îndruma națiunea pe calea preceptelor moralei creștine și a corectitudinii biruitoare. Ori, guvernul Tătărăscu este întruchiparea unei directive exact contrare. Prin guvernarea sa încurajează imbolburile materialiste și dorul de parvenire prin lichelism și fără merit. Incurajează, ascunde și protejează stări de lucruri umilitoare pentru națiune tot atâtea isvoare de declin național. Deaceea trebuie toți să ne unim pentru doborîrea acestui regim, trebuie să înlăturăm dictatura imorală de azi și să împiedecăm plănuita înfăptuire a dictaturei de mâine.

Pentru aceasta trebuie să votați cu toții lista partidului național-țărănesc, chiar și aceia cari nu faceți parte din acest partid. Aceasta o puteți face cu atât mai mult, că în capul listei noastre este iubitul meu prieten, Mihai Popovici, un distins fiu al Brașovului, descendent unei mari familii din Brașov, cunoscută în istoria acestei cetăți, el însuși un om de o mare cultură, cum puțini se găsesc în țară de un mare caracter și de un mare talent care s'a afirmat în toate împrejurările. Deaceea s'a înșiruit ca tânăr și pentru aceasta a rămas până în momentul de față, un neadormit luptător al libertații naționale și al democrației. Deaceea a fost de atâtea ori deputat și ministru și este azi prezidentul Ardealului și al Banatului. Doresc ca mulți ani să conducă aceste provincii în spiritul tradițional al lor. Tr

Trăiască națiunea română, trăiască dinastia și Regele României, trăiască partidul național-țărănesc în veci înflorească democrația și ideia națională.

Să apărăm demnitatea națională.

Coroana

00204

ci un guvern personal eşit dintr'un capriciu incontrolabil

este o nenorocire pentru ţară acest sistem de a face guverne după capricii.

iar celelalte şapte eşite din capriciu momentan al unor forţe oculte

toate acestea s'au petrecut nu subt influenţa naţiunii ci subt influenţa forţelor oculte care au pus stăpânire şi pe chibzuinţa regală

ci bine nu.

expediat.

ci pentru motive pe care le voi arăta mai târziu.

Personal al

personal al

singură împrejurarea că dl. Tătărăscu a primit guvernul ~~ca~~ drept urmare a capriciului forţelor oculte ar fi motiv de ajuns ca să luptăm pentru înlăturarea lui.

Ţara e dezarmată militar şi sufleteşte

şi drept rezultat ~~avem~~ azi avem contracte în sertare, avem miliarde date în anticipaţie şi plată dar n'avem armament livrat şi suntem în anul ~~xxxxxxx~~ Domnului 1937, când fiecare moment poate erupe războiul, dezarmaţi.

şi mai ales a lipsei acele [illegible] forţei puterii oculte şi a atmosferei din jurul [illegible]ului.

Naţiunea ruptă în două tabere, tineri şi bătrîni, prin cuvînt de încurajare a Suveranului şi prin deplocări ilegale. Tineretul însufleţit de idealul, prins adesea de tentative a lichelismului pentru a progresa mai uşor şi oameni bătrîni, dornici de muncă, descurajaţi prin actele de nedreptate, sugerate de o ocultă care vrea să domnească prin strivirea dreptăţii şi renumerarea trădării şi a lipsei de caracter.

şi să fie înlăturată, fără amînarea atotputernicia ocultei de care rezultă atâtea calamităţi sufleteşti şi materiale pentru ţara noastră şi poporul ei.

şi unei vieţi adevărat constituţionale

Dl. Iuliu Maniu în expunerea sa, arată sistematic desfăşurarea renunţării Prinţului moştenitor Carol dela Tron, acţiunea sa de a se produce restaurarea şi cum dna Lupescu a promis însărcinatului dlui Maniu ca în caz de restaurare, ea nu se va mai întoarce în ţară. A arătat cum d-sa a protejat revenirea M S. Regelui în ţară şi acum ocuparea Tronului şi după cum prin col. Precup s'a convins că dna Lupescu a rămas în Franţa şi că nu mai are intenţiunea să se reîntoarcă. A arătat în ce mod fericit a guvernat sub domnia Regelui Carol II câtă vreme dna Lupescu nu era în ţară. A arătat apoi sinistra întorsătură a lucrurilor după ce prin ajutorul dlui Mihai Manolescu şi a câtorva persoane xxxxx apropiate dnei Lupescu, d-sa a reuşit să se întoarcă în ţară şi să ajungă tocmai în apropierea Majestăţii Sale. A arătat cum această întîmplare nefastă a împiedicat înfăptuirea planului aprobat de a se încorona M S Regele cu M S Elena, şi a demonstrat în prezenţa acestei doamne care a creat în jurul ei o odioasă dar atotputernică camarilă, care a intervenit pentru înlăturarea guvernului Vaida şi pentru instalarea dlui Duca şi a dlui Tătărăscu.

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Şimleu, 6/IX. 1932.

culte

Scumpa Cornelica,

Aveam dorinţa să Vă văd aci şi să Vă referez despre frumoasa reuşită a seratei de ceaiu.

Simt, că trebue să renunţ, cu nespusă părere de rău; ar fi, cred, o mare greşală, de aş lua nici chiar momente din timpul preţios ce-l petreceţi în familie cu Cel mai Scump al Vostru. Voi merge mai apropiat.

O chestie prea veche însă şi prea nenorocoasă mă forţează să te rog la ceva. Sora mea Marta mi-a spus, că cu ocaziunea unei

51

[illegible]

[illegible]

Pavel Pavel

Alexandru Pavel

51

3 lei Poşta

Domnului

Iuliu Maniu

Bădăcin

(Sălaj)

Si

FRANCAREA ESTE
OBLIGATORIE.
SCRIEȚI CURAT ȘI
[illegible]

BUCUREȘTI
18 XII 35 11
GARA DE NORD

ESTE [illegible]
SE [illegible]
SAU [illegible]
IN [illegible]

Romania
6 lei Posta

TIMBRU

Domniei Sale

Domnului Iuliu [illegible]

00208

207

La Bădăcin.

19DEC956

Romania
FONDUL AVIATIEI

Romania
Posta

Dlui

00209

Iuliu Maniu

Bădăcin

jud. Sălaj

DR. VICTOR DELEU
CLUJ, Str. Grigorescu 90.

-6FEB937

DISCURSUL Domnului Maniu .

Dl. IULIU MANIU (primit cu ovaţiuni) :
Domnule Preşedinte, Onorat Comitet, aşi vrea să am glasul arhanghelilor şi vocea figurii mitologice despre care se spune că a fost în stare să mişte şi pietrele, ca prin el să te pot convinge pe d-ta, iubite Domnule Mihalache, să nu părăseşti locul de comandă pe care l'ai ocupat cu atâta onoare şi în care şezând ai făcut atâta de bine Partidului nostru şi ţării noastre.-

Te-am rugat de atâtea ori, te-am implorat şi te implor şi acum în ultimul moment să nu laşi locul care este atât de necesar să-l ocupi pentru ţară şi pentru partid.

Examinând serios situaţia nu este nici un motiv care te poate îndemna la demisie.-

Ai văzut tot timpul preşedinţiei D-tale şi în ziua de azi dragostea şi devotamentul cu care te-a înconjurat întregul partid şi noi toţi.-

Ai văzut devotamentul cu care am stat ajutor d-tale întru rezolvarea problemelor care cereau soluţiune.-

Ai văzut cum întreaga ţară a aplaudat atitudinea d-tale demnă, atitudine morală, atitudine bărbătească, desinteresată din ultima vreme.-

Ai simţit cât s'a înălţat autoritatea d-tale şi cât s'a mărit dragostea ţării întregi faţă de d-ta în urma gestului mare, nobil, foarte rar în viaţă publică a ţării noastre, refuzând puterea care ţi s'a dat în condiţiuni necorespunzătoare.-

Toate acestea nu pot fi decât un stimulent, o îmbărbătare şi le-ai putea socoti ca un argument înaintea întregei opinii publice şi în special înaintea Partidului nostru Naţional-ţărănesc să rămâi la locul d-tale.-

Că ţi s'a făcut nedreptate ? Adevărat, ţi s'a făcut nedreptate. Dar s'a făcut nedreptate Partidului întreg, s'a făcut ţării întregi. Ce ar urma ? In urma acestei nedreptăţi am părăsi noi partidul locul nostru de datorie? Ce ar urma dacă naţiunea ar descuraja ?

Nu, Domnule Mihalache! Toate motivele obiective, toate împrejurările subiective care te înconjură nu pot decât ca să te înduplece să stai mai departe în locul unde eşti.

D-ta eşti comandant. D-ta ai dat o ultimă comandă : Să ocup locul d-tale !

Am ascultat totdeauna comanda d-tale şi când nu-mi plăcea ; trebue să ascult şi această ultimă comandă.

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D.ION MIHALACHE: Să-ţi placă însă.

Dl.IULIU MANIU : Dacă ascult această comandă din dragoste şi respect faţă de d-ta şi faţă de Partidul nostru, o fac cu inima îndurerată şi poate îndoită.

Cu inima îndurerată, fiindcă atât de mult ne-am obişnuit să te vedem în locul pe care-l ocupi şi cu inima îndoită fiindcă nu ştiu dacă voi putea răspunde aşteptării D-Voastre.

Si această îndoială îmi este perfect îndreptăţită, când îmi dau seama de munca uriaşe de contribuţie a d-tale personală pe care ai desvoltat-o pentru organizarea acestui partid, pentru a-l pune pe baze solide, pentru a-i preciza programatic ideologia lui, pentru a-l închega într'un suflet de forţă. Partidul nostru care are baze solide în toate provinciile ţării. Ai depus o muncă uriaşe, pe care am urmărit-o cu atenţiune şi cu mare admiraţie pentru d-ta.-

Nu ştiu cine ar mai fi putut-o face. Trebuia un om care să aibă sistem de profesor, un om care să aibă inimă şi devotament pentru cauza publică aşa cum ai avut d-ta.

Chiar şi pe urmă, când ai dat examenul cel mare al vieţii d-tale, te-ai prezentat într'o postură atât de admirabilă, încât este imposibil să nu rămână toată lumea, care te privea înduioşată, adânc mişcată, adânc recunoscătoare, că un fiu al neamului românesc, expus la cele mai mari tentaţiuni, a ştiut să afirme suflet, gând, caracter, în forma în care ai făcut-o d-ta. (apl.)

Eu te rog să primeşti din partea mea şi din partea întregei obşti a Partidului nostru cele mai adânci şi cele mai sincere mulţumiri.

Ai binevoit a spune că-mi dai o comandă.

Trebue să spun că n'am crezut în viaţa mea că mi se va da o astfel de comandă şi n'am crezut niciodată că ţara românească va ajunge în aşa grea situaţiune încât eu va trebui să primesc, să satisfac unei comande atât de departe de gândul meu, de stăruinţele mele.

După 12 ani de preşedinţie a acestui partid, la un moment dat, nu obosit, nu desgustat, nu din indiferenţă faţă de marele ţeluri pe care le urmăreşte partidul, nu din din nesimţire faţă de soarta acestei ţări, nu că nu mă simţeam capabil de muncă, ci fiindcă credeam că altu poate face mai mult, că poate face mai bine decât mine şi că poate să aplice metode pe care eu nu le ştiu, pe care eu nu le pot aplica, - mi-am dat demisia din preşedinţia de partid. -Si atunci rugămintele dvs. au fost zadarnice, ca să nu duc la îndeplinire această hotărâre

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Am dus-o. Am spus prietenilor mei: "Din tinereţe am fost în lupta politică. Am făcut tot ce omeneşte este posibil, după modestele mele puteri să satisfac îndatoririlor impuse. Va judeca lumea şi istoria, dacă va avea vreme să se ocupe de faptele mele, dacă am îndeplinit cu cinste misiunile încredinţate. Sunt hotărât să nu mai iau parte în viaţa politică şi în viaţa publică a statului român în nici un fel de calitate. Vreau ca liniştit, din depărtare, să mă delectez de felul cum înfloreşte ţara românească, naţiunea română constituită într'un stat unitar, puternic şi frumos cu atâtea jertfe şi muncă uriaşe."

Si am spus: "Ferească Dumnezeu să vină ceasul în care eu voi crede că ţara este în atât de mare pericol încât trebue să-mi pun din nou munca mea de om politic în serviciul partidului meu şi Ţării mele".-

Dacă comanda d-tale, Domnule Mihalache, astăzi o urmez aceasta o fac din respect faţă de d-ta, din dragoste faţă de partid, din devotament faţă de ţară şi pentru că într'adevăr găsesc că a sosit un moment de suprem pericol pentru naţiunea şi ţara română, (aplauze) a sosit momentul tragic când se pun în joc, în cumpănă toate rezultatele obţinute de generaţii, de secole întru înfăptuirea unui mare ideal.

Aşa fiind, fiecare trebue să stea la locul unde este comandat, unde este comandat de corporaţia de care este legat cu sufletul, cu aceleaşi idealuri.

Dvs. îmi comandaţi să stau unde aţi stat Dvs.

Având în vedere tragicul momentului, mă duc la locul care-l comanzi şi voi năzui să fiu vrednic urmaş al d-tale pentru ca pe urmă să fi d-ta iarăşi urmaş, când îţi va veni vremea din nou. (aplauze prelungite).-

Domnilor, urmez o comandă, o poruncă care cred că se dă, fiindcă cei care o dau, şi Dl. Preşedinte şi dvs. mă cunosc. Eu nu vă voi arăta Dvs. programul meu politic, nici metodele mele de luptă.

Am fost doisprezece ani Preşedintele Dvs. Mă cunoaşteţi. Cunoaşteţi programul meu; cunoaşteţi metoda mea. Trăesc şi mor cu ele. (aplauze) Nimic nu părăsesc când trec la locul dtale.

Eu stau pe baza preambulului atât de frumos făcut, al programului nostru, care s'a făcut cu colaborarea Dvs Domnule Mihalache.

Ideologia depusă în acel preambul este credinţa mea politică, perfect consunătoare cu declaraţiunile mele anterioare din Cluj şi Bădăcin. Le găsesc singurele mulţumitoare pentru marile exigenţe naţionale ale poporului românesc.

Le voi servi cu credință. Cunoaşteți metoda mea de luptă. Nu trebue să vă explic. De atâtea ori vi le-am expus în şedințele noastre. Le cunoaşte şi opinia publică.-

Cu acest program vin şi vă rog pe Dvs. ca drept consecință la cele spuse de Dl. Preşedinte Mihalache să mergem împreună,- nu zic să mă urmați,- să mergem împreună solidari pe acest program şi pe această metodă fiindcă, cum am spus, nu sunt ale mele, ci sunt ale Partidului nostru al tuturor.-

Am spus că n'am hotărât să primesc acest post de comandă, pentru că găsesc că țara este la o grea răspântie. Care este aceasta ?

Tara noastră este scena unor contraziceri şi paradoxe revoltătoare, insuportabile.-

Dați-mo voe să vă spun câteva pilde care s'ar părea mici, dar sunt toate ferăstruici prin care se poate vedea foarte bine ce se petrece în țara noastră.-

Cele mai frumoase şi strălucitoare uniforme la armată. Cele mai bune trupe. Dar este foarte bine ca să nu căutăm ce este în realitate la spatele acestor trupe admirabile şi a acestor uniforme strălucitoare, când ar fi vorba de supremul moment de a ne apăra țara şi hotarele. (apl). Serbări şi parade fără sfârşit. (apl)

Sunt săptămâni când 3 zile într'o săptămână nu lucrează oamenii şi nici serviciile de stat nu funcționează. Parcă n'ar avea de lucru oamenii. Si restanțele se grămădesc cu vagonul, nerezolvate în Ministere iar bieții cetățeni cari au plătit prin timbru rezoluția pot în zadar aştepta răspunsul care nu-l mai capătă.-

Edificii insalubre pentru funcționari; şcoli şi spitale cari se dărâmă.-

In schimb însă se fac edificii de lux. Se dărâmă case admirabil de frumoase, nu vechi, ca să se facă edificii noui cu cheltuelil de sute de milioane, o mică pildă: Ministerul de Externe.

Se fac tedeumuri, procesiuni mişcătoare şi ne împărtăşim de sfintele taine dar călcăm de sus până jos poruncile bisericii şi nesocotim cu îndrăsneală şi sfidând opinia publică, regulele moralei creştine.-

Se spune că avem o constituție din cele mai frumoase pe care le are vreun stat civilizat.-

Se spune: toate drepturile derivă dela națiune. Trăim însă în realitate sub un regim de dictatură şi toată țara se prezintă ca o cazarmă.-

Abia a eşit copilul din casa părintească, el este înrolat la străjerie, fiind expus la eforturi corporale imposibile. (aplauze).-

Străjeria este o instituție cu scopul de a desvolta spiritul de camaraderie și pentru a forma caractere. Foarte frumos! Dar în execuțiune este o instituție îngrijorătoare fiindcă turbură întregul organism școlar, fiindcă distruge disciplina în școală și introduce anarhia, și nu se poate duce la îndeplinire programul analitic de învățământ.-

Dela străjerie se trece la cercetășie, mult redusă și apoi la cursurile premilitare.-

O instituție admirabilă. De mult ar fi trebuit să se facă, însă cum la noi din toate lucrurile aproape se face bătaie de joc, eu care am stat acasă la sat și am văzut acest lucru, admirabil în teorie, am văzut că în multe privințe este o cultură de microbi, de slăbire a simțului de datorie și al disciplinei.-

A trecut copilul peste aceste și vine la armată. Vine la adevărata cazarmă. Aici să-mi dați voe să-mi reamintesc un proverb foarte interesant, foarte instructiv, care spune: Toți oamenii poartă mască; sunt fără mască numai acei care pun mască pe față, fiindcă ei își lasă liber pornirile lor naturale.-

Eu zic, toată țara este o cazarmă; numai la armată cazarma nu-i cazarmă, (aplauze) pentru că aici se cultivă într'adevăr limba și sentimentul național, pentru că aici într'adevăr se cultivă caracterul, pentrucă aici într'adevăr se cultivă sentimentul de demnitate națională, pentrucă aici într'adevăr nu poruncește Generalul, ci poruncește regulamentul și ordinele pe baza căruia se face serviciul și generalul este numai un reprezentant, un executant al acestei legi și aici Domnilor un fecior de țăran ne-stânjenit poate avea cea mai înaltă comandă, dar în țară unde se zice că nu e cazarmă, dar este cea mai grozavă cazarmă, acest fiu de țăran nu poate ajunge în fruntea țării chiar dacă el este mai vrednic decât oricare altul. (aplauze).-

In constituție avem drepturi, dar în realitate domnește un spirit de cazarmă rău înțeles, în răul înțeles al cuvântului.-

Stăm sub stare de asediu, sub cenzură. Suntem conduși cu decrete-legi. Decretele-legi impun sarcini și poveri noui și fără a fi întrebată națiunea.-

Prin decrete-legi să încheie contracte, prin decrete-legi să înstrăinează averea națională și bunuri de ale Statului; decretele-legi înființează servicii noui cu rang de ministere, care n'au nici un fel de răspundere față de națiune, iar pe de altă parte se fac deblocări revoltătoare contra regulamentelor și legilor organizatoare ale serviciilor publice.- ./.

Se desorganizează servicii, jignind spirite înalte, oamenii vrednici sunt trimişi prea timpuriu la loc de odihnă, când acum chiar este mai mare lipsă de experienţă şi de cunoştinţe.(aplauze).-

Peste tot contraziceri şi paradoxe revoltătoare.

Şi dacă în politica internă sunt aceste paradoxe, aceste contraziceri, nu mai puţin sunt în politica externă.

Vorbe? Cele mai frumoase, cele mai corecte, exagerat de corecte. Dar toate faptele şi toate actele concludente desmint categoric ceeace se spune cu vorbe-(aplauze)

Este pe faţă declarată dictatură, fără nici o rezervă. Este pusă deja în aplicare, ar fi prea puţin să spunem că îşi aruncă înaintea-umbra.-

Domnilor, eu nu pun temei pe fel de fel de şoapte.

Eu pornesc dela fapte. Eu găsesc că ne ameninţă în modul cel mai serios ca cele mai sfinte drepturi ale naţiunei noastre să fie răpite. Voi arăta o mică pildă din care se vede intenţiunea celor care sunt în fruntea acestei ţări.-

Am sosit câteva zile înainte. Am fost întâmpinat şi salutat cu cuvinte foarte amabile. Am rămas foarte mişcat. Am răspuns şi eu câteva cuvinte în care am spus foarte puţin: că eu am luptat pentru ideia naţională, pentru democraţie, pentru morala creştină şi am luptat totdeauna ca aceste idei înalte să fie realizate într'o monarhie constituţională întruchipătoare a demnităţii naţionale şi a dreptăţii sociale. Ce credeţi Dvs, că a făcut cenzura ? ? A tăiat o parte, a lăsat că ne trebuie democraţie, - democraţia, tot omul îşi bate joc de ea,- A lăsat că trebuie ideia naţională,-toată lumea face demagogie pe tema aceasta. A lăsat că vrea morală creştină,- în definitiv morala creştină este pe buzele tuturor. Dar mulţi sunt cari nu o urmează.-

A şters însă "realizată într'o monarhie constituţională, întruchipătoare a demnităţii naţionale şi realizatoare a dreptăţii sociale".-

Dece ? Fiindcă domnii care fac cenzura vor monarhie, dar nu constituţională ci dictatorială, pentru că ei nu vor demnitatea naţională pe care o calcă în picioare zi de zi şi nu vor dreptatea socială nici măcar să fie amintită ci vor ca clasele exploatatoare sin slujba unui capitalism liberal să exploateze şi mai departe şi să pauperizeze nestânjenit poporul ţării noastre.-

Se fac crize factice, fiind înainte hotărât rezultatul bătându-şi joc de oamenii cari sunt consultaţi.-

Se fac alegeri,- se pipăe pulsul naţiunei !

Pulsul națiunei nu știu cum îl pipăe, dar patul puștei și bâta pipăe coastele cetățeanului.-

Si pe urmă ceace spune opinia publică nu se ia în seamă, ci își bat joc de demnitatea națională, neluându-se în seamă voința populară, legal exprimată, se dă curs liber unei serii întregi de guverne personale. Vă trebue pilde ? In 8 ani s'au perindat 9 guverne în România, între care al nostru a avut majorități respectabile, mari, impunătoare. S'a făcut pe vremea lor alegeri județene, în care partidul nostru a avut majorități sdrobitoare și în care partidul liberal a intrat cu 17-18 procente. Ce s'a întâmplat ? Guvernele noastre au fost expediate, iar acum se ține un guvern, un singur guvern, guvern personal, în fruntea căruia stă un om inventat, la care nimeni nu s'a gândit și numai că stă 4 ani, ci fiind sdrobit în alegeri este menținut mai departe și i se anticipează încrederea nejustificată prin nici o manifestare sau fapt concludent.

Dacă toate acestea nu sunt bătaie de joc la adresa demnității naționale, dacă aceasta nu este o ofensă adusă drepturilor politice și cetățenești ale poporului nostru atunci eu nu știu ce mai înseamnă cuvântul ofensă și încălcare.

Eu, Domnule Președinte, nu pot suporta această atmosferă în țară fără de a pune tot ce pot în serviciul scopului ca această stare de lucruri să fie schimbată.-

Sunt hotărât să lupt din toate puterile mele, în frăție cu Dvs. și în deplină solidaritate. Vă rog și pe Dvs. să refuzați a suporta această atmosferă umilitoare, ca să faceți tot posibilul ca acest neam, această nobilă națiune să iasă din aceste cătușe care nu numai sufletește este umilitoare, dar istovește și fizicul și o împiedecă să meargă pe calea ei de desvoltare veșnic ascendentă.-

Ce este de făcut în fața acestei situațiuni ?

Trebuie în materie internă să căutăm înlăturarea acestor paradoxe, a acestor echivocuri și punerea în ființă a unui sistem de guvernare sinceră, serioasă, categorică și devotată intereselor superioare ale națiunei și țării românești. Trebuie înlăturate formele goale, trebue sănăzuim a realiza esența și înțelesul adânc al lucrurilor și trebuie înainte de toate înlăturat sistemul dictatorial care ne stăpânește și umilește și trebuie înlăturat pericolul ce ne amenință a se permanentiza.-

In materie externă trebue să înlăturăm echivocul acesta insuportabil care plutește asupra țării și asupra națiunei noastre și acea neîncredere cu care este privită România în toate taberile, indiferent în ce cercuri de interese internaționale se găsesc.-

Trebuie ca manifestările noastre şi cu vorba, dar şi cu fapta şi în suflet dar şi în toate semnele exterioare să fie sincere, adevărate, deschise, clare şi fără echivocuri. (aplauze)

Alianţele pe care le avem să fie păstrate cu sfinţenie. Obligamentele pe care le-am luat asupra noastră să fie respectate. Să ţinem pe faţă, franc, categoric şi fără posibilitate de răstălmăcire sistemele internaţionale care se întemeiază pe marile noastre prietene Franţa şi Anglia care au ajutat să realizăm idealul nostru naţional şi ne-au ajutat până acum ca să-l păstrăm.-(aplauze)

Să ţinem fără nici un fel de reticenţe la alianţele noastre bazate pe sistemul micei înţelegeri, al înţelegerei balcanice şi la alianţa cu Polonia.-

Să împrăştiem atmosfera ce pluteşte deasupra capului nostru că naţiunea noastră ar putea să lucreze în dos, infidelă şi cu surprinderi. (aplauze)

Să ţinem cele mai bune relaţiuni cu toţi vecinii noştri mici sau mari; Să ne silim a ne înmulţi alianţele noastre defensive, căci ţinând cu toată sfinţenia la principiul securităţii colective şi la Liga Naţiunilor care este chemată să apere în modul cel mai eficace pacea, căreia îi suntem devotaţi, să avem cu o asigurare mai mult că pacea se va menţine şi hotarele ne vor fi păstrate şi apărate chiar şi dacă la un moment dat legătura ideală care este întruchipată prin instituţia nobilă şi extrem de importantă a Ligii Naţiunilor n'ar putea da un ajutor practic şi destul de eficace.-

In special cred că îndeosebi ţara românească trebue să facă tot posibilul ca să realizeze cu păstrarea suveranităţii statelor respective o organizare sistematică a statelor din ~~dunărean~~ basinul. Aceasta este o necesitate primordială nu numai pentru noi ci şi pentru pacea Europei.-

Inainte de aceasta cu 15 ani am lansat această ideie, am propus realizarea acestui plan. Cu durere am putut constata că nu prea înţelegea lumea nici a noastră nici cea străină importanţa acestei mari probleme. Dar încet, încet ideia a început să se coacă şi când am venit la guvern în anul 1928 m-am ţinut de datorie să încep realizarea ei. Multă lume a fost contra însă trebue să constat cu multă recunoştinţă că două mari state care au instinct şi experienţă mare în politica externă, Franţa şi Anglia dela primul moment m'au încurajat pe această cale şi pe urmă încet, încet şi alte state care mai demult erau foarte reci, chiar duşmănoase acestei idei au înţeles-o şi simţind necesitatea rezolvării problemei caută soluţionarea ei, fiecare însă, de sine înţeles, în felul cum crede ele că ar fi mai potrivit intereselor lor.

In tot cazul politica noastră externă trebue să se caracterizeze prin sinceritate şi claritate, prin spirit activ.

Nu să fim noi târâţi în acţiuni şi atitudini, ci să fim o forţă dinamică care dacă nu orientează, care dacă nu conduce, căci suntem poate prea mici pentru aceasta, dar să contribuim în prima linie la rezolvarea marelor probleme de care depinde pacea lumii şi siguranţa statelor mici din această parte a noastră. (aplauze)

In special prin nici un gest să nu provocăm pe nimeni, să nu provocăm sensibilitatea şi susceptibilitatea nimănui. Să ţinem la aliaţii noştrii deschis şi franc, la sistemele noastre internaţionale, fără posibilitate de răstălmăcire, arătând totdeauna că nu avem spirit duşmănos faţă de nimeni şi cine este de acord cu ideia noastră de pace şi de salvare universală a umanităţii şi cine nu vrea să ne atace cele mai mari comori ale noastre aceea nu ne sunt duşmani, indiferent ce atitudine au avut ei în trecut.-

Domnilor, ca să putem face însă aceste lucruri, trebue înainte de toate ca însuşi elementul românesc constituitorul acestui stat să fie în situaţiunea morală- politică, socială, culturală şi economică, ca să poată conduce cu autoritate în această direcţiune statul, statul său creat cu jertfele sale.-

Ce urmează de aici. Urmează că statul român şi noi înainte de toate trebue să susţinem ideia naţională; dar ideia naţională nu numai în ceeace priveşte forma exterioară că avem statul nostru naţional, ci să-i dăm şi conţinutul într'adevăr naţional şi prin acest conţinut să ridicăm poporul românesc care a suferit asupriri şi a rămas în urma altor popoare.-

Partidul nostru la înfiptuirea sa în 1848 a avut ca bază, ideia naţională, nu numai în sensul politic de libertate şi independentă naţională, ci şi în sensul social şi economic, ca poporul să fie ridicat din punct de vedere cultural şi material.-

De aici a pornit programul acestui partid şi dvs. puteţi să controlaţi toate programele făcute până la fuziunea norocoasă pe care am făcut-o în 1926. Toate au avut la baza lor ideia naţională în acest sens de libertatea naţională şi independenţă naţională, desăvârşirea politică, prosperitatea economică şi culturală. (aplauze)

Domnilor, sunt obişnuit să vorbesc clar. Vă declar dvs. în mijlocul vâltorilor demagogiei care se aruncă în multe părţi ale ţării, că eu nu sunt entuziast şi nu

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sunt nici un fel de anti. Eu sunt pro: pentru neamul românesc (aplauze).-

Eu nu sunt duşmănos faţă de nimeni; nu persecut pe nimeni. Nu fac nedreptate nimănui. Dar sunt pentru ridicarea elementului românesc, pentru întărirea lui şi sunt pentru ideea că statul român naţional cu toate forţele sale trebue să ajute elementul românesc. (ovaţiuni).-

Nu vreau nedreptate. Nu vreau nici lipsirea nimănui de drepturile sale născute în momentul când a venit pe lume. Eu sunt pentru dreptate, nu din mărinimie şi dintr'o pornire sufletească care este o predispoziţie individuală a firei mele pentru că ştiu că dreptatea este caritatea raţiunei (aplauze). Dreptatea este caritatea inteligenţii, adică creerul îţi arată, sprijinit pe suflet, să nu faci ceeace este nedrept, fiindcă se răsbună. Ce a fost monarhia austro-ungară decât o perpetuare a nedreptăţii ? Care i-a fost soarta ? s'a distrus.

De aceea Domnilor, eu a-şi crede că statul român ar trebui să inaugureze o politică de stat prin care în mod organic şi sistematic să protejeze elementul românesc, ca să refacă ce a pierdut sub impilări de secole.

Sub regimul nostru nenorocirea care este ? Eu care trăesc într'o provincie acum unită cu ţara mumă, cu durere trebue să constat că în 20 de ani de când este România Mare pe lângă toate declamările naţionaliste făcute, pe lângă toate exagerările pasiunilor necontrolate, elementul românesc în materie de cultură, în materie socială şi economică a progresat minimal de puţin.- Trebue făcut astăzi ceva. Eu vă asigur pe Dvs. că dacă am fi avut partidul naţional-ţărănesc o guvernare de 4 ani şi să nu fi fost înlăturat când erau mai bine aranjaţi pentru o lucrare sistematică elementul românesc n'ar fi astăzi în starea în care se găseşte.-

In sensul acesta concepând ideia naţională nu ne va putea nimeni învinui cu nedreptate nici nu va putea nimeni spune că nu suntem vrednici să guvernăm ţara în care suntem. Aceasta se poate face şi trebue făcut, fără însă a persecuta pe alţii, care însă nu vor putea lua în nume de rău că nu vor putea avea protecţiunea nedreaptă pe care au avut-o secole dearândul, care n'au ştiut-o folosi nici pentru ei, nici pentru a câştiga respectul lumii.-

Domnilor, eu cred că ţara românească în urma felului cum se conduc destinele ei şi în urma planurilor care plutesc asupra capului acestei naţiuni este în supremul pericol.-

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Noi suntem datori să ne punem la luptă cu ultima energie şi cu ultima hotărâre: învingem sau ne prăpădim.

Dl.Dr.N.LUPU : Invingem şi se prăpădesc ei.

Dl.IULIU MANIU: Chemarea mea în acest loc înseamnă această luptă.

Nu cunosc nici un devotament;nu cunosc nici o prietenie; nu cunosc nici o luptă pe jumătate;- o înţeleg numai întreagă.- (aplauze).-

Aşa am fost în viaţa mea toată de când am fost copil.

Păstrez pe masa mea în Bădăcin un cadou dat de prietenii mei acum 30 de ani după terminarea unei lupte crâncene. Sunt semnaţi pe acest cadou d-nii: Goldiş,- fie iertat,- Stefan Pop,Dl.Suciu,Dl.Alexandru Vaida,fratele Marşeu şi prietenii noştri Iancu şi Velici din Arad. Ei au scris pe acest cadou al meu lozinca mea de totdeauna: "Straşnic în luptă,mărinimos în pace ".-(aplauze)

Vai de acea naţiune,vai de acel partid,vai de acel comandant,vai de acel general, şi vai de acea trupă care va fi mărinimoasă în luptă şi straşnică la pace.(aplauze)

Va pierde răsboiul şi la masa verde va fi compromisă.-

Noi,Domnilor,nu putem vorbi de pace,-nu ştim când va veni.Dar de luptă ? O vedem, o simţim. Să fim straşnici în luptă. Suntem cinstiţi în concepţia noastră; suntem loiali în gândul nostru.Stăm în serviciul unei lupte măreţe,înalte.Metodele noastre, se ştie, sunt loiale,deschise,pe faţă,constituţionale,ordonate;- în cadrul legilor. Pe această cale: straşnic înainte. Aceasta să ne fie lozinca când pornim la această luptă şi când ocup locul pe care, spre durerea noastră îl părăseşte iubitul nostru preşedinte Mihalache, îmi iau voie să exprim câteva dorinţi.-

Prima mea dorinţă este adresată Majestăţii Sale Regelui rugându-l să nu creadă că noi care suntem sinceri monarhici constituţionali,prin afirmarea demnităţii noastre naţionale şi afirmarea drepturilor naţiunei noastre atingem câtuşi de puţin devotamentul pe care-l avem faţă de Tron., faţă de dinastie şi faţă de persoana Majestăţii Sale. (aplauze)

Noi ştim ce înseamnă pentru ţara noastră regalitatea; Noi ştim ce servicii imense a adus dinastia noastră strălucită ţării noastre. Stim ce menire mare are în viitor. Mai mult: noi cunoaştem calităţile personale eminente ale Regelui nostru Carol II-lea. Dar îi rugăm să înlăture din jurul său sfătuitorii şi apropiaţii nechemaţi care n'au nimic a face cu naţiunea. (aplauze).-

Si-l rugăm să nu asculte de sfaturile lor false ci să pună urechea pe inima poporului care grăeşte prin aleşii săi. (aplauze).-

Am o rugare către Dl.Mihalache: Domnule Mihalache, când d-ta părăseşti locul pe care l-ai onorat, d-ta să-ţi păstrezi acelaş devotament pentru marile idealuri care sunt depuse în programul făcut şi cu colaborarea d-tale sârguincioasă. Să fi apostolul acestui program şi să nu fi numai ajutorul, ci sfătuitorul nostru în lupta aceasta pe care o ducem, sfătuitor nepreţuit fiindcă ai şi sufletul şi inima şi mintea trebuitoare şi experienţa de atâţia ani.-

Să fi şi în viitor cum ai fost în trecut şi în armată şi în politică: neînfricat şi neînduplecat în luptă. Cu gândul păcii nu ne batem capul. Va da Dumnezeu să vie şi aceasta când se va împlini vremea.-

Am o rugăminte, către întregul popor românesc: să-şi dea seama că astăzi nu este vorba de programe politice, de o ideologie politică, astăzi nu sunt în discuţie mijloace de o mai largă sau mai strâmtă apreciere după temperamentul sau convingerea fiecăruia, a unor probleme de stat. Acum este vorba şi este pusă în discuţiune însăşi posibilitatea de a-ţi pune în circulaţie ideile, convingerile şi metodele politice şi însăşi edificiul acesta al statului român care se compune, cum a spus foarte frumos dl.Mihalache, din coroană şi naţiune. Este pusă în joc integritatea comorilor sufleteşti şi naţionale ale poporului românesc. Trebue pusă la o parte orice momentană adversitate politică de partid. Să ne unim cu toţii, să înlăturăm pericolul care ne ameninţă şi să înlăturăm din jurul Regelui sfătuitorii falşi şi pe acei care stau în calea apropierii adevărate a sufletului mulţimii cu sufletul Regelui, a acestei mulţimi care iubeşte atât de mult Tronul nostru strălucit.-

Eu sunt adânc convins că partidul acesta în care m'am născut şi în care vreau să mor, are cele mai sănătoase şi cele mai potrivite vederi şi metode pentru a asigura prosperitatea ţării noastre şi veşnica ei dăinuire.

Dar, nu sunt un sectar politic care aduce sentinţă de moarte asupra acelui care din convingere greşită, sau din prea puţină apreciere a lucrurilor poate crede în alte metode politice decât noi. Dar aştept dela fiecare ca pentru interesele momentane de partid sau interese trecătoare să nu piardă din vedere interesele permanente ale ţării de a-i păstra aşezămintele şi existenţa.(apla.).

De aceea peste cadrele de partid trebue să-şi dea mâna. Noi nu vom fi în cale,- ca să înlăturăm această stare de lucruri imposibilă, sufocantă şi să salvăm în aceste momente grele interesele primordiale ale ţărei noastre.-

Am o rugăminte şi către tinerimea română. Am rugămin-

tea ca să-şi dea [illegible] noi aceştia care avem părul căr[illegible] astăzi, nu se discută de soarta noastră a celor care am petrecut deja o bună parte a vieţii. Noi am avut unele satisfacţii care ne pot mulţumi. Astăzi este vorba de ea, de tinerimea noastră, de viitorul ei. Este vorba de ea cum şi unde va putea să-şi manifeste în viaţa de stat cunoştinţele şi puterea de muncă. Si când este vorba de tineret el să nu uite că nici într'un partid nu a fost tinerimea atât de apreciată ca în al nostru. Conducătorii bătrâni au dat loc de afirmare generaţiei tinere care cu temperament tânăr, cu vâltoarea firei lui, cu focul care svâcneşte în sângele lui cu energia tinerească putea să dea mai mare avânt luptelor ce s'au succedat. Cine a fost în Ardeal în 1848 în fruntea mişcării ? Patriarhii bătrâni ? Nu. Avram Iancu avea 24 ani, Simion Bărnuţiu avea 40 şi câţiva deani .-

Apoi, în 1918, oameni de mare valoare, de mare autoritate, Pop de Băseşti, Iuliu Coroian, Teodor Mihaly şi ceilalţi pe cine i-a încredinţat să ducă în vremuri grele de revoluţie la înfăptuire destinul naţiunei, pe cine a suprapus lor ? Pe noi, pe tineri. Cel mai bătrân în consiliul dirigent afară de Suciu Ştefan Pop şi Vaida am fost eu abia trecut de 43 ani. Nu s'a uitat la tinereţea mea. Din contră mi-a ordonat să îau destinele acestui colţ de ţară. Dar în 1928, n'am apelat eu la toate elementele tinere ? Cine a fost mai bătrân decât mine în guvernul prezidat atunci de mine ? Stefan Pop şi Vaida.

Dacă noi angajam tineretul la luptă, când este vorba să-i dăm posibilitatea să muncească pe baza calităţilor dovedite, nu pe bază de lichelism, noi apelăm tot la generaţia tânără dându-i tot rolul cuvenit. Prin urmare în partidul acesta pot avea încredere şi bătrânii că le respectăm poveţele şi îi ţinem în muncă, nu-i înlăturăm, nu-i deblocăm ca în alte părţi, dar tot aşa şi tinerii pentru că le dăm locul cuvenit punându-i chiar în frunte şi chiar în locurile de cea mai mare răspundere.-

Onorat Comitet, animat de aceste gânduri vă mulţumesc din toată inima pentru încrederea care mi-o arătaţi Nu ştiu cum am meritat, după activitatea ce am avut-o ca Preşedinte al Dvs. în timp atât de îndelungat. Cred însă că după sufletul şi devotamentul meu de a voi să fac bine acestei ţări, fără falsă modestie socot că am meritat pentru că nu vreau altceva decât să iau toate riscurile luptei pentru a face bine acestei ţări, pentru a înălţa naţiunea noastră, pentru a întări încrederea reci-

procă între națiune și coroană și pentru a vă duce la isbândă (aplauze prelungite, ovațiuni.) care va fi isbânda demnității naționale și a dreptății sociale! (ovațiuni).-

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